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ABSTRACT

This book contains 21 papers detailing the history of adult and continuing education at the University of Leeds (England) since its inception in 1946 as the Department of Extra-Mural Studies. The themes addressed include the appropriate nature of university continuing education and the issue of standards and quality assurance; the roles of continuing vocational education, community and industrial education, applied social studies, and liberal adult education; the study of continuing education itself and the research roles of a university department of continuing education; and the position of women within what has been largely a male tradition and structure. The following papers are included in Part 1: Departmental Perspectives: "Sidney Raybould, Fred Sedgwick, and the Early Department" (Roger Fieldhouse); "Recalling Raybould's Department (Roy Shaw); "The Department and the Community Dimension" (Richard Taylor, Kevin Ward); "From Special Courses to Continuing Professional Education" (Frankie Todd); "Some Personal Recollections of the Early Years of the Department" (Tom Caldwell); "The Department 1969-1982" (Norman Jepson); "Insider Outsiders: Part-Time Tutors' Perspectives" (Colin Johnson et al.). Part 2: "Departmental Provision" includes these papers: "Educating Industrial Workers 1954-1974: Growth and Achievement within the Raybould Formula" (Roger Dyson); "Remaking Trade Union Education: Industrial Studies Developments from 1979 to 1994" (Keith Forrester); "E. P. Thompson and the Making of 'The Making of the English Working Class'" (David Goodway); "Walthamstow, Little Gidding and Middlesbrough: Edward Thompson the Literature Tutor" (Andy Croft); "The Departmental Contribution in the Fields of Criminal Justice and Penal Studies" (Norman Jepson); "Social Work Education, Research and Development, 1963-1994" (Mike Stein); "Educating the Educators of Adults: Postgraduate Provision in Adult Education" (Stuart Marriott); "Researching the Education of Adults"

(Miriam Zukas); "Subject Teaching in the Department over 50 Years" (containing articles by Tony Donajgrodzki et al.); "A Little Bit of Leeds on Foreign Soil: The Bradford Centre" (Tony Jowitt); "A Different Vision? The Middlesbrough Centre" (Malcolm Chase); "Less Luck, Less Stroppy or What?" (Jean Gardiner, Rebecca O'Rourke); "'Heroic Student-Souls': Attitudes to Women in the Department" (Rebecca O'Rourke, Jean Gardiner). Part 3: "Present and Future Trends" contains the final paper, "The Leeds Department in the 1960s and the 1990s: And the Impact of Current Trends in University Continuing Education" (Chris Duke). (KC)

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Beyond the Walls

50 Years of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Leeds 1946–1996

Edited by
Richard Taylor

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Vice-Chancellor, University of Leeds page vii

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Foreword

The authors of this book both analyse and celebrate fifty years of adult and continuing education in the University of Leeds. Inevitably, over the years, the meanings of the key terms have changed: 'adult education' refers as much to the needs of mature students in the mainstream as to extramural or 'extension' lectures; and 'continuing' has the connotations of life-long learning—in part to be provided by mainstream departments. Changing meanings reflect changing needs and, unsurprisingly, there has been continuing review and reorganization of this provision in the University—accelerating in recent years, in part driven internally, in part externally. What started as the Department of Extra-Mural Studies is now the Department of Adult Continuing Education and, shortly, it will find itself as a component in a broader-based School of Continuing Education. There is an unbroken thread of tradition and commitment to the provision of courses to the communities of Leeds and its region—and perhaps particularly, a style of provision—which is quite distinctive. This arises from a combination of the academic skills of the Department (and the wider University) with an ability to draw people in who would not otherwise engage with the University. In recent years, this tradition has been broadened to develop continuing professional education—through a separate department—and this also has achieved great success. A part of the success has been the encouragement of continuing education provision through other departments of the University.

That such a community of skills and abilities can be nurtured and developed through two or more generations in Leeds is quite remarkable. At the present time, over 30,000 people in a given year take at least one course in continuing education—over 12,000 of these through the Department of Adult Continuing Education. In a fifty-year span, there are many who can still tell the tales which add up to the full range of the Department's history. This telling is achieved in this book with vigour and style and both present-day readers and future historians will be grateful to all the contributors.

Alan Wilson
Vice-Chancellor
University of Leeds

Preface

Richard Taylor

This volume celebrates what has been by and large a story of success and development in fifty years of Continuing Education (CE) at the University of Leeds. The original Department of Extra-Mural Studies developed under Sidney Raybould became not only a force in his own University but nationally and internationally influential. Throughout the fifty years Leeds CE has continued to play a lead role, although the context and some (though by no means all) of the issues and the ideological stances have changed markedly. There have of course been periods of difficulty and retrenchment—some of them discussed in the chapters which follow—and there have undoubtedly been set-backs. More than most parts of the university system, CE has been beset by change: change in funding systems, definitions, priorities, and overall role; and changes, in the Leeds context as nationally, in organizational structure. It seems that every few years the University has felt the need to review the existing structures and come up with a reorganized and retitled CE system. Those of us who have been here some time have a strong feeling of *déjà vu* with each successive review report.

At the time of writing (August 1995) another such review is nearing completion and it seems that CE will emerge much stronger and more coherently organized than before. (The main elements of this new structure are discussed below in the context of the future development of CE at Leeds.)

The contributions to this volume range far and wide and I hope give an impression of the richness and the diversity of CE at Leeds over the period. It is this very diversity in university continuing education that makes it an attractive and endlessly developmental field, but also creates a context of inherent complexity and organizational uncertainty. Problems of definition and purpose loom large in this volume, as they have done in the history of CE at Leeds, and never more so than now as we grapple with the implications of both a mass, flexible HE system, where part-time adult learning is fast becoming the norm rather than the exception, *and* a rapidly eroding resource base for the whole of the higher education system.

In this Preface I shall try to outline 'where we are now' and discuss briefly future issues for CE at Leeds, and then move on to introduce the volume itself by setting the scene for the chapters which follow.

Nationally, CE has never been in a stronger position, in one sense. From the early days of university extension CE has been concerned centrally with accessibility, with breaking down the élitism and exclusivity of the university system, democratizing and making more relevant the curriculum of the academy, and enabling far more people as adults to enjoy the benefits of university education. For many, many years university continuing education thus acted as the universities' 'off-licence', and extramural departments were in effect mini-universities of their own, dispensing at least some of the learning and culture of the main university system to the world outside. Increasingly, this became a diverse and complex operation, both organizationally and ideologically, as many scholars in the field have shown.[1] But, at least at Leeds and the other big civic universities, CE was always characterized crucially as being separate from the mainstream of the university: 'Extramural Empires', as Stuart Marriott aptly titled his book on the history of university extramural departments. Amongst Sidney Raybould's many talents, he was quite clearly an expert empire-builder, not only in terms of the size and geographical coverage of the Department but also in terms of the range of CE work to which he successfully laid claim, and the high calibre of the staff he appointed. Many of the scholars in the Department in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s would compare well in terms of research standing, as well as teaching skills, with *any* other department at the University, as later chapters in this volume indicate.

However, as well as being a strength this separateness was also of course a weakness. Adult students could not, generally, obtain 'standard' university awards or even certification. Nor were staff always regarded as quite 'proper' by their intramural colleagues. The whole extramural enterprise remained separate from and in some senses alien to the mainstream university activities. Of course, there were massive compensations: the partnerships with the community (whether in the form of trade unions, voluntary sector groups, local societies, or business and industrial concerns) were rich and rewarding; the freedom of both curriculum design and research time enjoyed by academic staff in the Department was unmatched anywhere else in the University; and, above all, as anyone who has taught in university continuing education will know, teaching, and learning from, adult students is more stimulating, lively, demanding and satisfying than most other forms of teaching in higher education.

Nevertheless, and despite all these benefits, the extramural world was in something of a no-man's land between the 'university proper' and the 'community'. In the Raybould years, when by and large the university system was stable and expansionary, this presented no great problems, politically. From the mid 1970s onwards, however, harsher winds began to blow and the Department at Leeds, as similar CE departments elsewhere, became prime targets for cuts and more general ideological assault. Their very separateness and past success in building their empires placed them in highly exposed political positions.

This was the underlying general context for the succession of reviews which took place from the 1970s onwards, allied to inherent ideological conflicts within both the Department and the University about how CE should be defined, organized, delivered and researched.

The years since the late 1980s have seen a sea-change in the HE system, the main features of which are familiar to everyone working in universities but particularly perhaps to those in CE. At the University of Leeds these changes have been particularly dramatic: a doubling of the University's overall student numbers, from *c.*10,000 full-time equivalents in the late 1980s, to 20,000 ftes in 1995/96; the introduction of a fully modular and semesterized system; and a range of innovative access initiatives designed to broaden as well as increase the student intake. In many ways, the CE agenda of accessibility and of much closer partnerships with the regional community has become a central part of the *University's* agenda, as can be seen from the last few Institutional Strategic Plans, particularly the current 1995 Plan where CE concerns, broadly defined, have a very high profile.

This is all to the good and the University has moved some way in directions which the CE constituency has long been urging. But this of course has raised an old problem, and with increased urgency. If the University as a whole, and the system as a whole, is moving towards a CE perspective—more part-time, more vocational, more linked to the needs of the community and so on—then surely, so the argument goes, CE should become a part of the mainstream activities of all departments and all academic staff. It is too important and too generic an activity to be left to one or more specialist CE departments.

This mainstreaming argument has been one significant element in the recent review of CE by the University. Even more important, however, has been the organizational incoherence of CE at Leeds (despite its manifest strengths), with CE specialist staff and structures spanning two departments, and one unit in the School of Education.[2] The 'history' leading to this somewhat bizarre state of affairs is alluded to in several of the chapters that follow. Essentially, the position arose, as so often in universities, from a combination of external circumstance (changes in funding methodologies for different forms of CE), internal structural change (primarily, the introduction of a devolved budgeting, resource centre system), and, not least, personal, professional and ideological differences between several of the key staff involved about the proper nature, structure and development of CE in the University. Clearly, this state of affairs could not continue: the University presented an incoherent CE position to the outside world and, more importantly, was failing to capitalize fully and cost-effectively on its undoubted CE strengths.

After lengthy discussion, it seems likely that the University will introduce a new structure which strengthens considerably both the specialist CE organization of the University and, equally important, the whole University's involvement with CE activities. Essentially, what is being proposed (probably for introduction in 1996) is a unitary School of Continuing Education, containing the whole range of CE functions (accredited and non-accredited CE provision in both vocational and non-vocational contexts, a major role in the provision of part-time degrees, community education for disadvantaged groups, continuing vocational education, and postgraduate and research activity in CE itself). Significantly, it is proposed that work-based learning, currently a project-based activity in the University and seen as a key element of longer-term development in CE, should be incorporated within the new structure. Most important of all, the University is proposing that the School of Continuing Education should assume an explicit 'lead agency' role for developing CE across the University.[3]

The argument has thus been accepted that a specialist academic School of Continuing Education is necessary for there to be 'critical mass' to enable quality delivery of CE, to engage in developmental activity locally and nationally and in the University itself, and to maintain and extend Leeds's good record of CE research. The new structure, yet to be planned in detail and with some questions of resourcing still to be agreed, provides potentially both a strong and an exciting and challenging context for CE work at Leeds to build upon the success of its first fifty years. Staff roles will undoubtedly change even further, with more emphasis upon CVE and work-based learning, more involvement for at least some colleagues with the University at large, and, for everyone, an imperative to become first and foremost CE specialists. The pressure of work, already intensified considerably over the last few years, is certain to increase still further: but the opportunities for playing a central role in completing the transformation of the University into a fully accessible institution, responsive to community needs, presents a very positive future. And one which in many respects conforms to the ideals for university continuing education held by Raybould and his colleagues, and the more social-purpose orientated academic staff of later periods.

Perhaps I might conclude this section of the Preface on a personal note. Reading the chapters which follow on the early years of the Department reinforces my feelings of belonging to a deep-rooted and well-founded tradition of university continuing education which combines radical social-purpose ideals, with an attachment to high quality 'university standard', liberal adult education.[4] It also reinforces my feeling of being still a relative 'new boy' to the Department. Yet this is in some ways absurd for someone who joined in 1970 and has now been here for twenty-five years—half the Department's current lifetime in fact! I think this is explained, at least in part, by the fact that the legacy of Raybould, whom I met only once, still looms large. The context has changed beyond recognition but the reputation and at least some of the practices of the early Department have been, I hope, maintained. The concentration in this volume upon Raybould's vision, dynamism and commitment in the evolution of the Department should not however obscure the profound impact of the more democratic and humanistic 'Jepson era'. During the difficult years of the 1970s through to the mid 1980s the Department developed a more genuinely liberal culture, befitting to an institution whose core ideological attachment remained then as it remains now to *liberal* adult education.

The strength and vitality of the Department has always depended essentially on three foundations: the support of the University at the strategic level; the existence of a large, enthusiastic, diverse and able student body; and most crucial of all, committed, professional and congenial colleagues. In my time at Leeds (and in my years as Warden of the Bradford Centre) I have been fortunate to have worked in an environment where all three factors have operated very positively—for most of the time! As some of the following chapters show, there have been differences of view, often quite sharp, but that after all is what makes professional life interesting.

This leads to my last personal comments. People often ask those of us working in CE why we have remained here rather than move to a 'standard' mainstream Department—though, interestingly, I think this question is less frequently asked in the current climate! There are several reasons why I have so enjoyed, and continue to enjoy, life in the Leeds CE environment. These can be stated very briefly: the diversity of activity which offers almost boundless opportunities for innovation and change; the supportive, collegial and democratic culture of CE both in the University and in our partnership work with the community; and, perhaps rather more disreputably, the endless fascination of the 'political game' of defending, redefining, and manœuvring which is a necessary part of managing the CE enterprise. None of these characteristics shows any sign of diminishing—rather the opposite—so, in that sense too, the future can be viewed with optimism.

I turn now to a brief introduction to the volume itself. The book is not intended to be a comprehensive, analytical history of CE at Leeds: perhaps this may be undertaken later as a proper scholarly exercise, though not, I trust, by any of us too closely involved in the events themselves![5] Rather, the book is an attempt to gather together a range of impressions and studies—some of them scholarly, but most more anecdotal and reflective—from some of those who have been involved in the Department and its work over the fifty years. Inevitably, there is a 'weighting' in terms of contributors towards those currently involved in CE at Leeds. This, amongst many other things, leads no doubt to a lack of distancing and perspective, with too much of the history being seen through contemporary paradigms.

Even more importantly, there are many key omissions from the book and these must be acknowledged. Three in particular stand out: there is no contribution here from the adult student body, and, secondly, there is very little discussion either of the enormous contribution made by clerical staff colleagues to the work of the Department (and precious little about administrative and other academic-related colleagues). We thought long and hard about the presentation of the 'adult student view' but decided in the end and regretfully that this would really require another book. After all, not only have there been hundreds of thousands of adult students involved over the fifty years, but their huge diversity meant that several chapters would have had to be devoted to their experiences to give even a flavour of the 'student perspective'. In a sense, a similar problem appears when considering the roles of clerical staff in the Department. Clerical colleagues have played so many diverse roles in the development of the work, and have been attached generally to particular units or areas of work, that it would have been difficult to present a single 'clerical staff view'. (However, it should be noted that some aspects of clerical staff views and roles are discussed in Chapter 19 by Jean Gardiner and Rebecca O'Rourke.) Thirdly, this volume deals exclusively with the specialist CE Department(s) at the University of Leeds. But there have been many other areas of CE work in the University of course—and, in that sense, a history of CE that stretches back long before 1946. Many departments in the University have had extensive programmes of professional CE, and for some faculties—Education, Medicine—continuing professional development work has been at the heart of their activities. To discuss and analyse the University's work in CE in this broader context would of course require a much wider coverage than could have been attemped here.

Other important omissions should also be noted, though more briefly. There is nothing here on regional work and the host of partnership organizations with which we have worked so beneficially over the years; nor is there anything on several areas of once important CE work—Services Education, the Health Services (now Nuffield) work, for example. Less specifically, but probably more importantly, there is no sustained discussion of the relationship between the Department and 'the University'. Given the peculiar and rapidly changing nature of CE and the way it has been perceived and treated over the years by the management of the University, this would make a fascinating study. Time alone prevented us from attempting this analysis: but there is a potential article here for *Studies in the Education of Adults* or some other scholarly journal!

Many people contributed to the production of this volume. I would like to thank all the contributors, (almost) all of whom completed their pieces on time despite very considerable work pressures. Stuart Marriott, as editor of the series 'Leeds Studies in Continuing Education', has been helpful and efficient, and in many ways this has been a *jointly* edited book. Jaswant

Bhavra, Denise Johnson and, particularly, Sandra Stitch coped admirably with the quite difficult manuscript, and with tight deadlines.

Finally, if it does not sound too trite, I should express my thanks on behalf of all those currently working in CE at Leeds for the past that we have inherited and which is recalled and discussed in the chapters that follow. If the next decade in the evolution of CE at Leeds lives up to its currently predicted levels of activity and development, it will soon be time for a companion volume to be written.

References

1 For some of the Leeds scholarship in this area, see, for example, S. Marriott, *Extramural Empires: Service and self-interest in English university adult education, 1873–1983* (University of Nottingham, Studies in the History of Adult Education, 1984); R. Taylor, K. Rockhill and R. Fieldhouse, *University Adult Education in England and the USA: A reappraisal of the liberal tradition* (Croom Helm, 1985); and the forthcoming History of Adult Education in the UK by Roger Fieldhouse (due for publication in 1996).

2 The current titles of the three are: the Department of Adult Continuing Education, the Department of Continuing Professional Education, and the Study of Continuing Education Unit. The disparate sizes of the three should also be noted: Adult Continuing Education has a total staff of about 50, of whom 23 are academic; Continuing Professional Education has a staff of about 14 of whom one is academic; and the Unit for the Study of Continuing Education has a staff of four, three of them academic but with some duties outside the Unit. If the current proposals for restructuring are accepted, the two Departments of Adult Continuing Education and Continuing Professional Education will be lapsed and merged into a new School of Continuing Education (with the addition of Work-based Learning), whilst the Study of Continuing Education Unit in the School of Education will be lapsed upon Professor Marriott's retirement in 1996.

3 Part of the complexity of any restructuring of CE results from the difficulty of drawing boundaries between CE and related activities in the University. Thus, it is likely that a new Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies will be created in the University in 1996, bringing together a number of units and offices, including

the Office of Part-time Education, which has until now always been staffed by secondment from the Department of Adult Continuing Education. Other 'offices' with which the School of Continuing Education will need to have formal links include the Access Office, the City and Regional Office, and the proposed new CATS office. (All of these latter developments have taken place over the last few years, and the Department of Adult Continuing Education is closely involved in all three.)

4 For one view of the debate over liberal adult education, see Taylor, Rockhill and Fieldhouse, *University Adult Education in England and the USA*. See also, for the at times heated debates in the Department, the (unpublished) Staff Seminar Series of papers of the mid 1970s.

5 For a brief survey of the chronological history of CE at Leeds University, see the companion volume to this one by T. Steele and J. Coles, *Occasional Papers, No 1*, Department of Adult Continuing Education, 1996.

Part One
Departmental Perspectives

1

Sidney Raybould, Fred Sedgwick and the early Department

Roger Fieldhouse

Ever since the tutorial class movement was founded at Oxford in 1907 there had been a symbiotic relationship between the universities and the Workers' Educational Association in the provision of adult education. By 1939 all English universities had established joint tutorial class committees with the WEA, and most had set up extramural departments to provide both joint tutorial classes and extension lecture courses. The fact that Leeds University was one of the five that had not done so was not due to any antipathy towards adult education, but because it had been content to leave the responsibility for organizing the joint tutorial class programme in the hands of the dynamic WEA District Secretary, George Thompson. From 1914 until his retirement in 1945 (with the exception of six years spent in New Zealand) Thompson ran and dominated both WEA and university adult education in the Yorkshire North District which stretched from Wakefield to Middlesbrough and from Sedbergh to Scarborough.

George Thompson

Thompson had joined one of the earliest tutorial classes taught by Henry Clay at Halifax in 1909, became an instant enthusiast for the WEA, and was appointed the WEA organizer in Yorkshire in 1913. The Yorkshire District was formed a year later and Thompson became District Secretary. The District was subsequently divided into Yorkshire North and Yorkshire South, and Thompson then became Secretary of Yorkshire North, a position he held (except for the period 1923–29 when he was in New Zealand) until 1945. Thompson was very much part of the Labour Movement, and he saw the WEA as a part of that movement. Its primary role was to provide the working class with knowledge which could be used in its struggle for socialism and industrial emancipation. Therefore it should concentrate on recruiting working-class people into its classes, and offering subjects which were relevant to their political and industrial struggle. Under his influence the Yorkshire North District established a tradition of working-class education and tutorial classes very different from that in many other WEA districts. He represented 'a whole generation of working men who devoted their time and energy to the WEA in Yorkshire. Socialism was the new evangelical movement from which they derived their peculiar strength and inner direction. From this secular puritanism the workers' education movement derived its main dynamic.'[1]

Thompson professed to have no reverence for universities but regarded them as a valuable resource which the WEA could use. But he regarded it as vital that the WEA was the controlling influence in any partnership with the universities. As District Secretary he acted as joint secretary of the Leeds University Joint Tutorial Classes Committee and exercised a decisive control over its activities. Although the university appointed a number of full-time staff tutors, it had very little influence over them. They were to all intents and purposes controlled by Thompson.[2]

One of the staff tutors recruited by Thompson, in 1929, was Sidney Raybould. Raybould himself acknowledged his lasting indebtedness to Thompson 'from whom, and from whose work between 1929 and 1945 I learnt a great deal about the purposes and possibilities of the WEA'.[3]

After Thompson retired as district secretary in 1945 his shadow continued to fall on the WEA and the University. Indeed, even after his death in 1952 his spirit still seemed to rule adult education in Yorkshire.[4] In the Department's annual report for that year, Raybould paid tribute to Thompson's outstanding contribution to, and influence on, adult education and his 'ability, zeal and forthrightness'.[5]

Sidney Raybould

Raybould was born in Middlesbrough in 1904, the son of a schoolmaster. He was educated at Middlesbrough High School, and Nottingham University College, where he took a degree in economics. He was recruited to adult education as a part-time WEA tutor in 1929 while he was working as a schoolteacher in Cleveland. During the 1930s and 1940s he taught courses in economics and political theory. In 1935 he was appointed a full-time staff tutor under the Leeds University Joint Tutorial Classes Committee.

In addition to George Thompson, the other major influence on Raybould's adult education thinking was R. H. Tawney. He inherited from both a strong belief in the social purpose of adult education and the particular role of the WEA as provider of university adult education for the working class. He also shared with them a formidable insistence on rigorous academic standards. When the Department was set up at Leeds in 1946, Raybould was appointed its first head, and Director of Extra-Mural Studies: positions which he continued to hold until his retirement in 1969.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of 1945, Thompson was succeeded as WEA District Secretary by the 35 year-old assistant general secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, Fred Sedgwick.

Fred Sedgwick

Sedgwick was born in Manchester in 1910 and attended Manchester Central High School but, like many working-class children, was unable to continue to the higher levels. In fact his schooling, as indeed his whole adult life, was badly affected by an accident while playing cricket which splintered a bone in his leg and left him permanently with osteomyalitis. On leaving school Sedgwick considered entry into the Methodist ministry but instead started work as a clerk in a cotton firm and then with the Refuge Insurance Company. Throughout the 1930s he regularly attended two or three tutorial classes, his main interests being psychology, philosophy, history and international affairs. According to his history tutor, Sedgwick was one of the finest students he had had in ten years of WEA teaching. Certainly his essays, often twenty or thirty pages in length, are a monument to everything best that the WEA stood for in standards of education. What he learnt at his history class convinced Sedgwick that society could be changed for the better. He became and remained all his life a socialist as well as a devout Methodist.

Probably one of the very few untruths that Sedgwick ever told was when he frequently claimed that he was no scholar. In June 1949, in the midst of a very hectic work schedule, he completed a twenty-seven page essay for his philosophy tutorial class on 'A comparison of the teachings of Richard Hooker and Thomas Aquinas upon law'. It is typical of the man that after a careful analysis of the two philosophers' views about the natural law, Sedgwick asked 'what does this matter to us?' and concluded that from them 'we may take courage if we are oppressed by our times that a Christian view of the Universe, a Christian conception of Man, a Christian belief in the possibility of an ordered yet free society, a Christian faith in the essential goodness of human nature are capable of meeting the challenge of rationalistic enquiry and utilitarianism on their own grounds and in the end providing us with a sense of values we so much need.'[6]

He became a Methodist lay preacher while still working in Manchester and continued to preach thoughtful sermons for most of his life. His search for social justice led him into the trade union movement: he joined the Manchester General branch of the National Union of Clerks. Then in 1938, at the age of 28, he was appointed assistant general secretary of the Scottish TUC and lived in Glasgow for the next seven years.

Sedgwick officially started work as district secretary of the Yorkshire North WEA District on 27 January 1945 when he attended a district Committee meeting; he took over Thompson's role as joint secretary of the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee on 12 February, at a meeting of that committee.[7] In these roles he inherited the pivotal position occupied so long by Thompson, some twenty-one months before the new extramural department came into being.

The road to Establishment

Sedgwick's diaries for 1945 and 1946[8] show that he did not find the donning of Thompson's mantle at all easy:

> *3 February 1945:* I have come into the job when the new adult education regulations are being rushed through and I shall have to watch my step—the work is all strange yet I don't want to make any blunders. Thompson will be a difficult man to follow.
>
> *6 February:* Worried about new job—such a lot of detail and I am a bit innocent on policy—particularly as new Regulations are coming out.
>
> *17 February:* (At Bingley WEA branch meeting with two staff tutors present). I think I suffer from inferiority complex and am apt to get pompous. Shall have to do some serious thinking.
>
> *19 February:* Still trying to get settled at the office. It is really a strain and I am dealing with brainy people and people who are attending Tutorial Classes regularly.
> *26 February:* Office work a big worry and strain. Not used to policy matters.

28 February: When I outlined ideas to Thompson they seemed wrong in some important details …

5 March: … worried about the office, particularly in view of new Regulations etc, and the fact that the intricacies of the past are locked up in Thompson's mind.

19 March: Still wondering whether I shall make a success or not.

26 March: Very worrying day at the office … no clear records anywhere.

27 April: Work is still somewhat on top of me. I get worried at times. Wonder if I am really going to be equal to it.

10 June: Worried to death about work … I don't know the details of half of it. Leeds, for eg, will be considering recommendation to set up adult education department and we shall have to fight it …

11 June: Had Thompson in this morning and discussed matters with him. Terribly complicated (for me) problems ahead … Travelled with Raybould and Thompson in Raybould's car (to a branch meeting) … Made a very poor show … almost incoherent at times, through lack of confidence I suppose.

6 July: London—District Secretary's Meeting. More worrying stuff. This time about increases in tutors' fees.

9 July: Very worrying day at office. Leeds Committee. More trouble.

10 July: And still more troubles … Everything at office … in a complete mess and worried stiff.

11 July: Office worries getting right on top of me.

12 July: Consult Dryden Brook [WEA District Chairman] but don't seem to get much help … Have a feeling of incompetence.

13 July: … am making a complete hash of my life …

c. end of July: In the course of this last few weeks a serious crisis has arisen in my own affairs and I have been so worried … The fact is the job is absolutely on top of me and I feel I cannot go on indefinitely without ruining my home life and happiness. The troubles and worries of the WEA are without end … what perhaps hurts most is the idea of having to spend so much time away from home at evenings and weekends …

(At this time Sedgwick seriously considered leaving the WEA and going back into the insurance business.)

4 August: I have another fit of depression and am at present determined to get out.

22 August: Terrible meeting of the East Yorks Committee at York … Feel so terrible I must get out and yet what can I do?

> *17 September:* Life just a long worry nowadays. Sick of it.
>
> *16 December:* [In recent weeks] I have been remarkably busy [and at times] worried about work.
>
> *1 January 1947:* The New Year starts with mingled feelings of hope and dismay … I am very unsettled at work. However I shall carry on and do the best I can.
>
> *10 January:* The trouble with this job … is that when I take time off in evenings or weekends I have a guilty conscience.
>
> *18 January:* Still very worried about this job and am looking for something else … have written after jobs with the Co-op Union and the Methodist Youth Committee …
>
> *30 January:* … feeling much better.
>
> *12 March:* Applied for General Secretaryship of L.P.Ma.

Nothing came of this application, but by this time Sedgwick appears to have recovered from his depression and come to feel more confident about the job of district secretary. The diary makes no further references to his feeling unable to cope, although there continue to be references to the demanding nature of the job. On 11 September and again on 10 December he mentioned how difficult it was to keep the daily diary because he was so busy. The diary comes to an end on the latter date with the note that he had been 'so engrossed with work these last few months—particularly with coming of Extramural Department … I hereby resign (from writing the diary). The job is hopeless.'

Some entries in the diaries reveal how Sedgwick played an important role in making academic judgements about the joint tutorial classes at this time, and in the setting up of the new department and choosing Raybould as the Director:

> *16–17 January 1946:* Faced with two very awkward and (for me) serious questions, ie. non-staff full-time tutors and whether they should be made staff tutors and the appointment of two of the existing staff to senior staff tutorships. I feel Raybould and Baines are the men but others … .have long service. The decision will be entirely mine as far as I can see. I must make it on what I conceive to be merit and not necessarily length of service. Somebody is going to be disappointed.
>
> *12 March:* Sub-committee of University today. I had to play a lone hand surrounded by a bevy of Professoriat. Purpose was to decide steps to be taken to set up Extramural Department. I think I did quite well. Put on sub-committee to select short list.

> *21 March:* C. not a very good tutor but he is so genuine and earnest I shall recommend the sub-committee on Saturday to try to retain him.
>
> *23 March:* Sub-C on Org. Tutors. Recommend retention of C.
>
> *25 March:* Visit H.'s class … H. not a good tutor though he knows his stuff.
>
> *24 April:* P. on music—exceptionally good.
>
> *27 April:* Jt. Comm. staffing sub-comm. Got Bellamy appt. staff tutor and Raybould Senior Staff Tutor.

(This in effect ensured that Raybould rather than Baines would be the first Director of the new department.)

> *2 May:* At Northallerton (afternoon) to meet Raybould to talk about JC matters.
>
> *1 July:* This is certainly the most hectic period of the WEA year … Additionally this year there are all sorts of staffing upsets including Extramural Department Headships at Hull and Leeds … Joint Committee Staffing sub-committee today.

The entry in Sedgwick's diary for 10 June 1945 makes it clear that the WEA was far from fully supportive of the proposal to set up an extramural department at Leeds. Not only did he anticipate that 'we shall have to fight it', but also noted that 'the only way to do so is to bring in the W. Riding LEA', while recognizing that the initiative would lie with him. This antipathy no doubt derived from Thompson who, the previous year, had clearly been anxious about the University's plans for post-war developments which included widening the scope of its adult education work, catering for a clientele and in subjects not dealt with by the WEA, and reforming the machinery for carrying it out. He was afraid that the University would undermine the work of the WEA by seeking to make 'the biggest show they can' regardless of quality.[9] However, Thompson came to accept the creation of the department as inevitable and to feel that as long as the joint committee was preserved, there was not too much to be feared.[10] Nevertheless, even after the department had been set up, Sedgwick was expressing the same reservations as Thompson three years previously. In a section on 'Relationships with the Universities' in notes for a talk on 'The WEA and the Future' in March 1947, he asked whether they were joint or junior partners, and stressed the need to work out conflicts over rights and responsibilities. He also noted that a joint committee was 'essential'.[11]

Rivalry between the Universities and the WEA

Two years earlier, soon after his appointment as district secretary, in a talk to the Hull WEA branch in February 1945, Sedgwick warned that the 1944 Education Act was a threat to the WEA if it allowed itself to be cast in the role of a dependent of the local education authorities or the universities. If it did (as in Scotland) it might be dispensed with altogether.[12] Over the next few years, as the post-war optimism about an insatiable demand for adult education faded, and was replaced by increasingly bitter rivalry and competition between the various providing bodies, this threat became more of a reality, especially when the new Universities Council for Adult Education encouraged its members to work independently of the WEA (in a policy statement in 1948), and the universities increasingly used the relaxed post-war grant regulations to embark on a massive expansion of one-year and shorter courses indistinguishable from the WEA's own classes.[13] The WEA's anxiety was aggravated by the sight of public funds pouring into the universities via the University Grants Committee, in much greater volume than it was able to obtain from the Ministry of Education and the local authorities. This golden stream enabled the universities, including Leeds, to build up an enviable full-time administrative and tutorial staff and pay higher fees to part-time tutors.[14] It is not surprising that in 1954 the Ashby Committee, set up by the government to investigate the organization and finance of adult education, concluded that 'the main initiative at present lies with the extramural departments'.

Raybould's view was that the WEA had only one effective answer to this challenge: to make its own work, and particularly the work it did in co-operation with the universities, of the highest quality possible.[15] In 1947 he carried out a typically thorough investigation into the nature of the student body in the classes promoted by the Leeds Joint Tutorial Classes Committee during 1946/47, to see whether the WEA was meeting this challenge in his own District. He concluded that although the students seemed more interested and active in social and political affairs than a random sample of the total adult population would be, they were not as working-class, or educationally deprived, as they should be according to the WEA's own policy, and there was some doubt about the degree of progression from more elementary classes to tutorial classes.[16]

This investigation, together with his long experience under Thompson's tutelage, convinced him that the WEA was in danger of taking the wrong decisions about its future. He was encouraged in his thinking by a letter he received from Tawney in September 1948 which stated that whereas the WEA had been criticized in recent years for making too many demands on working-class students:

> the valid—and very serious—criticism is precisely the opposite. It is that, in its eagerness to increase the number of classes and students, it has steadily relaxed the demands which it makes upon them … there is too much running of classes for all and sundry, and of begging people to join them whether they mean business or not. In my view, they should be told that, unless they are prepared to live up to exacting commitments, they had better keep away … As things have worked out in many areas, short classes have not been a preparation, or supplement to, tutorial classes, but a substitute for them … a 'softer option'.[17]

All this formed the basis of Raybould's prescription for the association, *The WEA: The next phase*, published in 1949. In it he argued that the pre-war decline in tutorial classes and working-class participation had accelerated during the war and continued after it, while, at the same time, the standard of work in all types of classes, but especially tutorial classes, had fallen.

> The lowering of standards occasioned partly, but not solely, by the war, is the most serious of the several serious challenges with which the Association is faced … If it fails to meet it, then the leadership in adult education will pass to whatever bodies provide courses sufficiently realistic in content and thorough in method … not 'pipe and slippers'.[18]

He argued that the WEA should reverse these trends, and concentrate on provision for workers (defined as those having left school at the minimum school-leaving age), and on subjects which dealt with vital social issues. Conversely, the universities should not provide elementary courses, and should leave the organizing of joint classes to the WEA. This critical appraisal of the WEA was intended to encourage it to return to its founding principles, and to map out the demarcation lines between the Association and the universities. It contains many of the ingredients of what became known as 'Raybouldism' and much of the implacable logic that made Raybould many opponents both within the WEA and in other university extramural departments over the ensuing two or three decades.

The Establishment of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies

The constitution of the new department which was hammered out during 1945/46 ensured that one of the standing committees of a newly established Board of Extra-Mural Studies would be a Joint Tutorial Classes Committee which would be responsible for the tutorial classes and other work formerly undertaken jointly with the WEA. It also stipulated that the WEA District Secretary 'will deal with the organisation and administration of classes and courses for which the Committee is responsible, the Committee retains [sic] the representative character of the original Extension and Tutorial Classes Committee'.[19] The responsibility for organizing university extension courses and extramural activities not provided by the new tutorial classes committee was placed in the hands of a separate standing committee, known as the Extension Lectures Committee.

The old Joint Committee took two other important decisions before it was wound up. Early in 1946 it decided to institute training courses for tutors and on 30 April it resolved to stop employing 'full-time non-staff tutors'. These were effectively full-time staff, but with no permanent contract or security of employment. The Tutors' Association had been waging a campaign against such appointments as exploitative and unprofessional,[20] but they had been a mainstay of Thompson's style of management. It was agreed that in future, part-time tutors would not be engaged for more than two or three tutorial classes except in special circumstances. Thus two components of 'Raybouldism' were in fact inherited from the old joint committee, although it is more than possible that he influenced its decisions. In time it became the policy of the new department that the bulk of the teaching should be undertaken by full-time staff tutors as being the best people equipped for this task.[21]

The Department was formally established on 1 October 1946, with Raybould as Director. The old joint committee was replaced by the Board of Extra-Mural Studies as the University Council's advisory committee on extramural work and as the Responsible Body under the Ministry of Education's regulations governing adult education. Four standing committees of the Board were set up: the new Joint Tutorial Classes Committee to oversee work done jointly with the WEA (with the WEA District Secretary as secretary); the Extension Lectures Committee; a Residential College

Committee; and an Academic Advisory Committee consisting of full-time staff tutors and representatives of the part-time tutors employed by the Department.

The Department's *10th Annual Report* for 1955/56 consists very largely of a review by Raybould of the first ten years of the department, and constitutes an almost complete statement of 'Raybouldism'. In describing the demarcation of territories between the two main standing committees, Raybould outlined what he considered the WEA should or should not involve itself in. Essentially, it should confine itself to 'liberal adult education, and particularly "education for social purpose", for working-class students'. As a Responsible Body in its own right it could pursue this objective through the provision of various 'classes of shorter duration and more elementary character than university tutorial classes', but as the university should only sponsor work 'of a higher standard than that promoted by other bodies', the Joint Committee would have to confine its collaboration with the WEA very largely to the provision of three-year tutorial classes, in which work of the highest standard could be expected and achieved.[22]

Thus the demarcation between the two standing committees was certainly not intended to reflect different standards of work, nor necessarily different subject matter, since 'students not attracted to the WEA ... might well be interested in "liberal" studies'. The demarcation meant essentially that the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee 'should be regarded as the committee through which the University would normally make its contribution to working-class education' ('working class' again being defined as persons having left school at or near the minimum school-leaving age), leaving the Extension Lectures Committee to make provision for 'other kinds of student'. In 1956 Raybould considered that on the whole this arrangement had worked well (but this will be further examined later in this chapter).[23]

In its first year the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee provided some eighty-one tutorial classes but also seventeen one-year and shorter classes in the North Riding 'by special arrangement with the WEA', mainly to accommodate the activities of a long-standing full-time tutor in the Yorkshire Dales area. The Extension Lectures Committee began compiling a panel of extension lecturers and promoting a quite modest programme. But authority was obtained to appoint two lecturers to share their time between extension lectures, and work with other departments—a novel arrangement—and, even more significantly, to institute a University Extension Certificate.

Developments 1947–55

Five new staff appointments were made during 1947/48, and others continued to be made over the next few years, taking advantage of the financial incentives for expansion in the field of university adult education in the period immediately after the war. Fifteen new tutors were appointed by the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee between 1947 and 1950.

The Extension Lectures Committee began promoting a variety of single lectures, short courses, residential courses and longer courses of one, two and three years' duration. The programme continued to expand over the first few years and the first full-time teaching appointments were made by the Committee in 1948/49. One particularly significant development was the provision of a range of courses in a variety of technical and vocational subjects mainly for 'advanced students'—a very different clientele from that traditionally targeted by the WEA. The first of these was in leather technology but a number of other scientific and technological subjects were soon promoted as well as 'aspects of probation work'—the beginnings of a major area of the department's work for many years. The department's contribution to these courses was normally limited to assisting with the organization and administration while the academic responsibilities lay with the appropriate 'internal' department. This development can be seen as an early version of the continuing professional development which has since become a major part of universities' continuing education activity, at Leeds and elsewhere. (See Chapter 4).

The new Extension Certificate was approved by Senate, and made available for students attending three-year extension courses. The standard was intended to be that of undergraduate degrees but care was taken not to prescribe the field of study by imposing a rigid syllabus. It was also a matter of policy that no attempt should be made to persuade any students to take the certificate examinations: the certificate was a voluntary option.[24]

After a considerable amount of soul-searching the department also agreed to continue the adult education work that had been done with HM Forces during the war. For Leeds this meant mainly, but not exclusively, courses for the Army at the very large camp at Catterick in North Yorkshire. The university agreed to do this only after it ascertained that the Army graded its National Service recruits educationally and therefore it could concentrate on the better-educated national servicemen who were exempt from the Army's compulsory education. This ensured that the university courses would be both voluntary and of an appropriately high standard—both important principles. Even so, Raybould secured the agreement from the WEA and the North Riding LEA that they would undertake work which was considered inappropriate for the university. On these terms, the department set up a new standing committee for Services Work and quickly appointed an Assistant Director and several lecturers at Catterick Camp. The work developed satisfactorily until 1952 when the Army unilaterally cancelled the arrangement whereby 'exempted' soldiers were released for daytime education, because they were required for military training. This completely undermined the university's educational activities. Although arrangements were eventually made to provide evening classes instead of daytime ones at Catterick, this reduced the volume of work and caused a sense of uncertainty and insecurity which was never totally allayed.[25]

Meanwhile, within five years of its establishment the department had more than doubled in size—from, in 1946, a Director, an Assistant to the Director, fourteen Staff Tutors, one Organizing Tutor and one clerk to, in 1951, the Director, two assistants to the Director (for Extension Lectures and Services Education), thirty-three academic staff, one Warden designate for the residential college (which never materialized), one Administrative Assistant and seven clerical staff. The *5th Annual Report* indicated that the department was seeking to expand further at the beginning of the 1950s, by making a small increase in the number of staff tutors for the Joint Tutorial Class programme; appointing several full-time tutors for work at the Albert Mansbridge Residential College; and creating two new posts of Deputy Director and Secretary to the Department. It also proposed to establish a Chair in the department. These proposals were agreed by the University subject to funding being made available by the UGC.

Up until this time UCG support had not been a problem, but clouds now began to appear on the horizon. The *5th Annual Report* noted that there had been a small but disappointing decline in the number of tutorial classes and students during 1950/51, and then in 1952 the government 'stabilized' the adult education grants at 1951/52 levels, just when there had been an expectation of 'a larger increase in grant than usual'. The result was that 'the Department's income for 1952–53, and for the two succeeding years, was considerably less than had been anticipated'.[26] The combination of this financial squeeze and the recruitment difficulties in part of the tutorial class programme led Raybould to switch resources from the tutorial classes to extension work over the next few years, causing considerable resentment in the WEA. 'By the end of the period of stabilisation of grants the number of classes provided by the two committees were [sic] almost equal, with rather more students attending Extension courses than Joint Committee classes.'[27] When he reviewed the department's first ten years, Raybould regretted the reduction in the amount of work undertaken with the WEA, but saw all the achievements on the Extension side—the services education; the increase in the volume of teaching in technological subjects; the rapid growth in the proportion of students who had already received a good schooling; the provision of courses of special interest to members of particular occupations and professions; the institution of extramural examinations and qualifications; the activity of the department in assisting other departments to undertake adult education; and research into aspects of adult education (which will be returned to later).

The WEA's failure to recruit sufficient numbers for tutorial classes was blamed for much of the department's difficulties and used as a justification for the expansion of the extension programme at the expense of the work undertaken jointly with the WEA. It has been argued that this was merely following a national trend and therefore that it was 'difficult to substantiate' any suggestion that Raybould favoured Extension work.[28] But there was more than an element of *post hoc* rationalization about Raybould's justifications. He and the department had put considerable effort into building up the extension programme, including the services work, well before the crisis in tutorial class recruitment and the financial squeeze after 1950. And although some of this extension work was quite clearly distinctive and new, nevertheless 'at times it appeared to be no more than a change in organisational methods, with the resulting class looking, and behaving, very little differently from a WEA-sponsored group. To this extent the WEA fear of competition had some justification ...'[29] Probably the most telling action in this respect taken by Raybould was the decision in 1951/52 to strengthen the extension work by creating a number of new posts (to be filled by appointment of existing staff, switching them from one post to another, because of the financial squeeze), including one in trade union work. If ever there was a field which belonged to the WEA and therefore the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, it was trade union work. After all, trade unionists were almost by definition 'working class' and the majority would have left school at the minimum school-leaving age. Yet the proposal was for the department to develop this work in the Extension Committee's programme! When the miners' day-release courses were begun in 1954 they were planned in conjunction with the WEA but they were later transferred to the extension programme.

Securing status for the new department

Raybould was very conscious, when he took over as director of the new department, that extramural staff did not enjoy the same status as other university staff and he was determined to ensure that they should. Reference has already been made to the decision taken by the old joint committee in 1946 not to continue the system of employing 'full-time non-staff tutors', very likely at Raybould's instigation. During the next few years he took steps to secure parity for the department's full-time staff with other staff of the university, by bringing their appointment and promotion procedures and their salaries into line with 'intramural' staff.

It was also decided that the department would rely for its teaching predominantly on its own full-time staff, or staff drawn from other departments of the university, to ensure that only tutors 'possessing both the academic equipment and the opportunities for study and preparation' would be employed.[30] To ensure that the department's staff had sufficient time to acquire and maintain their academic credentials, it was agreed that they should have no responsibilities for organizing classes. That would be undertaken either by the WEA or the department's administrative staff.

By the late 1940s, Raybould was advocating that extramural departments should become university departments of adult education and promote research into adult education as 'a distinctive field of study'—to give them a particular academic position.[31] The department began carrying out research in aspects of adult education, including history, organization, purposes and methods, from 1948/49, and then changed its name in 1951 to the Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies. The purpose of this name change was to indicate that it should now be regarded as an academic department of the University concerned not only with the promotion of extramural classes but also with enquiry into, and teaching about, adult education 'as a distinctive field of study'.[32] This research work became a major part of the department's plans prepared for the 1952–57 quinquennium. Three lectureships in adult education were established, and filled by moving existing staff across to this area of work, to carry out the adult education research and to teach about adult education. These were the first such posts in any English university. At the same time it was agreed that adult education research should be a duty of the head of the department and that a chair in Adult Education should be instituted. Raybould was appointed to the chair in October 1953.

These policies and the quality of the appointments made by Raybould in the early days of the department helped to enhance its reputation and status both within the university and in the wider academic world but Sedgwick feared that tutors were being diverted from the task of teaching adult students, and argued that the university should give greater recognition to the practice of adult education in its own right, as well as to research.[33]

In 1952/53 the university approved a proposal that academic staff of the department should have the titles of assistant lecturer, lecturer and senior lecturer in recognition of its being a 'proper' academic department, but about the same time Raybould was defeated in a proposal that the university should recommend to the Ashby Committee that funding of extramural work should be switched from its peculiar source directly from the Ministry of Education to mainstream UGC funding. This would have crowned Raybould's efforts to make the department academically identical to any other department but the university decided that for the time being it was more appropriate that adult education should continue to be funded separately by the Ministry.[34]

It has been claimed that Raybould's 'successful struggle for recognition for the department within the university and across the country was perhaps his greatest achievement',[35] but it is arguable that his greatest achievement, and the real heart of 'Raybouldism', was in reality his valiant attempt to prevent university adult education rushing into the expansionist period after the Second World War by attempting to do everything itself. He consistently argued that universities should concentrate on the one sector of adult education which they were uniquely qualified to undertake—adult education at a university level—leaving other equally valuable forms of adult education to other bodies better equipped to provide them, including particularly the WEA and the local education authorities. This was the essence of the message he so relentlessly preached.[36] And associated with this argument was the notion of university 'standards'.

Standards

Raybould's guide to *University Standards in WEA Work*, published in 1948, contains all the essential Rayblouldian arguments about 'standards'. It advises that the WEA should retain its open-access policy for tutorial classes but that this requires the WEA to make it clear to its students that university work entails serious, disciplined study; regular attendance at classes; participation in discussion; reading critically; and, of course, the undertaking of written work. Raybould believed that the only way to combine open access with this serious, disciplined study was to allow adequate time: 'time is the essence of the process.'[37] Therefore university standards could really only be achieved by WEA students, 'many of whom are possessed of a very inadequate educational equipment',[38] in three year tutorial classes. Anything less would be a 'soft option' and lead to lowering of standards. It was also part of the strategy for maintaining standards that the teaching should be undertaken by university staff who were scholars and specialists in the teaching of their particular subjects at this level, and not drained by too much developmental and organizing work.[39]

Notes for a talk on 'relationships' which Sedgwick prepared about this time show him in close accord with Raybould on this central issue. The whole justification of the relationship between the WEA and the universities was the quality or standard of work undertaken by the students, and this meant concentrating on tutorial classes.[40]

During the early years the department's staff, through its Academic Advisory Committee and at its Staff Conference, gave regular consideration to how standards in both tutorial classes and extension lectures could be improved. Apart from the concentration on three-year tutorial classes, the introduction of the University Extension Certificate and the predominant use of university staff, a number of other policies were introduced to improve quality. These included the re-establishment of the tradition of regular private study (which had partially lapsed during the war period); the reintroduction of a student registration form which included a commitment to regular attendance, systematic reading and written work; the preparation of syllabuses designed to provide students with a fairly detailed guide to private study; the building up of the extramural library; and the writing of detailed class reports by tutors which were circulated to all tutors as a means of publicizing 'best practice', particularly with regard to how to encourage students to undertake written work. The department even undertook to delegate two members of staff to assist the WEA with visiting and academic supervision of its own classes.

Raybould was very largely successful in introducing these policies into the department through single-minded, sometimes ruthless enforcement, although regrettably he was less successful in persuading colleagues in other universities to follow Leeds's example. Indeed, during the 1950s 'Rayboul-dism' caused a considerable amount of unfraternal bickering between university extramural directors.[41]

Within the department there was considerable debate about the best strategy for attaining university standards, or whether they were attainable at all as far as some students were concerned. Indeed, in 1950 it seemed that an 'animated conversation on the question of "University Standards in tutorial classes" … ensues wherever two or three Staff Tutors happen to meet'.[42] Some of the academic staff unquestioningly accepted the Rayboul-dian orthodoxy;[43] others accepted it conditionally[44] or regarded it as too mechanistic.[45] Baxandall lampooned Raybould's standards as 'so many words … written, so many books read', while Stein warned against crude quantification as a measurement of standards and advocated that the 'problem' of standards should be reduced to the 'problem' of teaching methods. Sedgwick contributed a thoughtful defence of 'disciplined study' to the debate, arguing that it would enable students 'to learn something, to have confidence, to gain wisdom, to discuss intelligently, to be able to detect false arguments, and so on'. At the same time he gently chided the universities for failing to provide such education: 'if the universities generally had continued to help us to get on with the job we wouldn't have had to talk so much about "standards"—a word I dislike in this context.'[46] Despite his dislike of the word, this must be interpreted as a defence of Raybouldian 'standards' and a criticism not so much of Leeds, but of other universities for not following suit.

Revisiting the debate over forty years later, it appears that 'standards' were being interpreted in a rather narrow, traditionally academic way even for that period, almost as if Raybould's desire to establish the department and university adult education on a proper academic footing led him to a prescriptive notion of how learning should take place. This was alien to adult education in practice. 'Standards' became a way of promoting quality by exclusion—excluding those who would not commit themselves in advance to regular attendance, written work and private study over a three-year period—without giving due recognition and credit for the wide range of experience and achievement which adult learners bring with them to a class.

This weakness constituted a part of the most forceful and the most intellectually vigorous contemporary criticism of Raybouldian standards. This came from E. P. Thompson within the department and Thomas Hodgkin from the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy, and centred on the identification of university standards with objectivity. Raybould, with the help of some of the staff in the Leeds department, constructed an elaborate theory of objectivity which became identified with the concept of university standards.[47] Thompson attacked the ideological basis of this argument which represented the fostering of a particular 'university attitude' (variously described as objective, tolerant, gentlemanly, calm, equitable, wise or a combination of such virtues) as an essential aspect of 'university standards'. Thompson argued that:

> To prescribe an attitude of calmness, or moderation, or tolerance towards a society or social problem is to pre-judge that this attitude is an appropriate one. The exponents of this theory of 'objectivity' are not only agreeing to make available facts about society to their students, but are also claiming to dictate the student's response, and therefore, behaviour in relation to those facts ... The nature of this indoctrination is to deny the validity of the student's experience and prescribe an attitude (usually of 'tolerance' or some associated response) to situations which might well demand an attitude of militancy or indignation. It is clear that this is a typical form of class indoctrination, that it is desirable for the ruling class that the working class should be tolerant in the face of injustice or exploitation ...[48]

Thompson accepted that there was merit in Raybould's emphasis on objectivity and tolerance, but pointed out that the mistake lay in confusing desirable by-products of the educational process with ends. A tolerant attitude might well be appropriate in some circumstances, but only if 'the facts of society are such as merit toleration'. It was quite possible that they did not. A student who joined a class 'with a burning sense of class injustice or an attitude of compassion to his fellow workers' should be educated to change his attitude of indignation or compassion to one of tolerance only if he was mistaken in the first place, but he may well not have been mistaken. 'We must … bear in mind that, because we find a tolerant disposition or attitude on the whole desirable there may be other dispositions or attitudes—compassionate, or militant, generous or spontaneous—equally desirable (and more appropriate) in certain circumstances.'[49]

Although Thompson accepted that this aspect of Raybouldian standards was a 'fallacy honestly held' by Raybould, not 'a cunning form of dishonesty',[50] nevertheless he argued that it led Raybould and the Department into an ideological quagmire.

Raybould and the Cold War

The debate in the Department in 1950 about standards dovetailed with the debate about objectivity which Thomas Hodgkin launched at this time in the pages of the *Highway*, and which Raybould entered with typical assertiveness.[51] Hodgkin drew attention to the drift towards intellectual conformity which had come with the onset of the Cold War after 1947, and suggested that those who embraced this conformity were regarded as 'respectable people' while those who challenged it were open to suspicion. Part of this new orthodoxy, Hodgkin contended, was the notion that Marxists were not capable of teaching objectively. Raybould switched the debate from Marxists to members of the Communist Party, and argued that they were not free to teach objectively because the Party required them to use whatever opportunities presented themselves to propagate the communist faith. 'It is for this reason that there are doubts in adult education quarters, and in academic circles generally, as to whether objective teaching can be expected of Communists', he claimed. He went on to argue that they were committed 'to propagating Communist Party policy to stir up industrial unrest, to spread disaffection in the Armed Forces, to encourage treasonable activities'.[52] Raybould was given support in the *Highway* by one member of his staff, Roy Shaw.

The same controversy about Communists (and Catholics) entwined itself in the debate on standards in the department's series of *Adult Education Papers* during much of 1950. Ironically, as Thompson pointed out, Raybould's own notion of an objective approach was based on a particular Labourist view of the world. In a series of papers he wrote during 1949–50 on 'Adult Education and Democracy', 'Objectivity and Tolerance' and 'Academic Freedom and Propaganda', Raybould argued that adult education should help people to understand and want 'unpleasant economic policies, like, for example, wage freezing or labour redeployment', and that adult education should secure 'the voluntary acceptance, by those most affected, of the necessary measures' to resolve these economic problems. The irony is that at the same time he was questioning whether the adult education movement could tolerate those people who used it 'to secure support for their own opinions and policies', and more specifically whether members of the Communist Party should be allowed into the adult education movement. He seemed completely unaware that his own Labourist attitude was as much devoid of objectivity as those he was seeking to castigate.[53]

About this time Raybould asked Thompson and two other communist or ex-communist members of the department whether the Communist Party expected its members to promote party policy through their professional work. Despite assurances that even if this were the case in theory, none of them would do so in practice, Raybould was not altogether satisfied. He was opposed to the idea of dismissing staff 'merely because of [such] commitments', but he did feel it was justifiable to ask applicants for posts whether they were members of certain religious or political organizations. He felt unable to state unambiguously what his reaction would be to an affirmative response but it is difficult to perceive the point of asking the question unless it was a form of political vetting. In principle he did believe there was justification in refusing employment to anyone who was 'committed to particular opinions, in the sense that he has entered into an undertaking to seek to gain their acceptance, or at least not to discuss them critically'. He agreed in principle with Hodgkin that tutors should be judged on 'their capacity and will for objective teaching', but he thought a Communist Party member was a 'special case'. However, he pragmatically drew back from public advocacy of a complete proscription of Communist Party members 'in this country' because he was able to persuade himself that the relative weakness of the Party in England in some way reduced the obligation of Party membership and the commitments to it.[54]

However, there is some evidence that Raybould did isolate Thompson and one or two other left-wing members of the department from certain aspects of its work, especially the trade union day-release classes.[55] Although Thompson did not believe that Raybould discriminated against him personally, in August 1949 he protested that Raybould's suggestion that there was 'a threat to professional standards from only one quarter—or from one quarter (communists) in particular', and that 'Communist tutors, because they are communists, are likely to abuse their position', was not only wrong but improper. 'Such assertions', he wrote privately to Raybould, 'especially when made before the student body—are likely to undermine the confidence of classes and branches in Communist tutors, and make their work extremely hard going … When one had voluntarily tied one's hands, one does not like to get clouted.' This does suggest that Thompson did feel somewhat aggrieved at the treatment he received from Raybould. Two other communists, members of internal departments but with extramural experience elsewhere and aspirations to undertake adult education at Leeds, also felt that Raybould discriminated against them.[56]

Twenty-five years later, the Department went through almost exactly the same debate once more—whether it was possible for adult education to be objective and at the same time promote social change. The agony and some of the actors were the same as in 1950, as was the strength of commitment, but if anything there was a harder political edge to the debate, reflecting the yawning gap between 1950s more consensual traditionalism and 1960s ideological stances. But the debate (very fully recorded in the series of 'Staff Seminar Papers', 1974–76) also reveals a strong desire on behalf of a number of the contributors on all sides (there were not just two sides) to argue for a commitment to social purpose within the parameters of Rayrbouldian standards. This is something which Raybould himself had not always done.

Raybould, Raybouldism, the WEA and social purpose

Raybould's achievements were immense, and particularly so in two respects: securing the academic status of the Department within the University and, even more, defending the highest standards of adult education against the 'soft options' being pedalled around after the war and putting in place mechanisms for defending these standards (or what we would now describe as 'assuring quality'). But in the process he lost some of the commitment to social purpose that he had inherited from George Thompson.

In the late 1940s Raybould and his disciples threw their weight very much behind the spurious argument that as post-war Britain no longer reflected the class divisions of the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, the WEA should abandon its specific commitment to the working class. It should replace it with a more nebulous commitment to the 'educationally disadvantaged'. As part of this process it should discard the notion of 'knowledge for power', or economic emancipation, in favour of 'reasonableness' and 'tolerance'.[57] It was this thinking that caused the WEA to lose its sense of purpose during the 1950s.[58] At the same time, Raybould's gradual shift of the department's effort and resources from its exclusive partnership with the WEA to the building up of the Extension programme (with its more middle-class and professional clientele) and his attacks on the 'unobjective' political activism of the communists and fellow travellers, were all moves away from social purpose and the dedication of adult education to changing society. It was exactly this, of course, that Edward Thompson opposed so strongly in the Rayboudian notion of 'university standards'.

Although he was more circumspect than Edward Thompson, Sedgwick also quietly supported those who believed in adult education for social purpose. Within a month of his being appointed as district secretary in 1945 he was telling the Hull WEA branch that in the West Riding the WEA had 'a purposive existence': it was 'a strong movement, knowing what it wants and realising the social purpose of adult education'. This purpose included 'equipping members of the working class for their job in the political and industrial movements'.[59] It was a view which he was to continue to express, albeit in slightly modified language, for the rest of his life.

At the time of the controversies in the department over standards and objectivity (which inevitably spilled over into the WEA), Sedgwick used his considerable influence to prevent Raybould and the department putting undue pressure on politically active tutors.[60] And he argued that there was a job 'for us all in the WEA and I wish we'd get down to it: to re-think and re-state the social purpose of the WEA so that it makes sense and kindles enthusiasm amongst the workers in the political and social conditions today'.[61] Doing exactly this, not only in Yorkshire but increasingly on the national stage, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, was Sedgwick's greatest achievement. It culminated in the WEA policy statement, *Unfinished Business*, in 1969, which was very largely written by him and which helped to inspire the re-emergence of the social purpose dynamic in the WEA in the 1970s.[62] Its typically Sedgwickian conclusion was that the Association was 'capable of making a contribution to the new society as important as that which it [had] made in the past: that, in fact, its work [was] by no means finished, but [had] just begun'. In his notes for the presentation of the new policy statement to the 1969 WEA national conference, Sedgwick stated that the central theme of *Unfinished Business* was that 'our Movement must be concerned with the relationship of adult education to the condition of society ... Adult Education should be part of the action and passion of our time.' Fundamentally, he was convinced that 'liberal adult education, embracing all the liberal values, is a force to be reckoned with; that informed, cultivated, critical opinion—that is educated opinion—can influence society for good'.[63]

At the time of Sedgwick's death in 1976, this conviction was emphasized by the WEA General Secretary, Reg Jeffries, writing to Mrs Sedgwick:

> this Association has stood for values among men and women which could make life so much more worth the living, and for so many of us Fred represented those values more truly and more clearly than anyone else we knew. We not only listened to him so often as he translated these values of ours into words which we could all understand, but we had the instinctive feeling that he himself lived his life by those values ... He it was who set the example for all of us and who made it all seem worthwhile.[64]

But Sedgwick never lost sight of the importance of the partnership with the university in the pursuit of these values. About 1970 he regretted that the universities had become 'too aloof' and had gone off on their own, but he argued that adult education still needed their scholarship, standards and disciplines: 'the University method/tradition is still important. We must work together.' And two years later he noted that 'the centre of the WEA has been ... university scholarship and method'—reflecting the liberal values of freedom, love of truth and objectivity.[65] For him, objectivity was a much more positive notion than it had been for Raybould.

In 1973 Leeds University awarded Sedgwick an honorary degree in recognition of the contribution he had made to the University, as well as to adult education. The *WEA News* (Autumn 1973) noted that 'one of his many services to adult education has been his central role in developing the present close and fruitful relationship between the [Yorkshire North WEA] District and the University.' In offering his congratulations to Sedgwick for his forthcoming degree, Raybould told him that 'it is very proper for the University to do this, since you have made an indispensable contribution to its work in adult education for the last thirty years ... for many of these years I have admired the way in which you have maintained and expanded the work of the District'.[66]

When the honorary degree was conferred on Sedgwick in May 1973, he was presented by the Vice-Chancellor, Lord Boyle, who acknowledged that the University owed much to 'the warm personality of the man, his humour and quiet wisdom [and] his commitment to the ideals of social justice and the enrichment of life'. One of many colleagues within the Department hugely indebted to Sedgwick's quiet wisdom and example, Tom Caldwell, noted at the time of his death that when the Vice-Chancellor chose personally to present the honorary degree to Fred, 'this was no formal honour, but an expression of the University's huge regard for his personal abilities and qualities and for his outstanding work for adult education.'[67] He helped to translate Raybouldism into a humane commitment to socially purposive adult education in the Department, in the WEA, and in the educational world at large.

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2

Recalling Raybould's Department

Roy Shaw

This chapter is based largely on memories, checked against archive material. It will therefore be personal and subjective, but it will also aim to be as objective as possible in telling how it was in the Raybould period.

The Department began in 1946; I joined it a year later and stayed until 1962. The early 1950s saw the influence of the head of the Department, S. G. Raybould, at its zenith. He had a profound influence on his staff, but also became the most famous, or notorious, figure in university adult education. He had been a Yorkshire tutor before the Department was founded and inherited former colleagues who did not altogether welcome his emphasis, from the start, on university standards. He had lectured to other tutors on the question of standards, and when his notes became a WEA pamphlet, he wrote in a foreword that what he had thought were simple truisms seemed to some to be 'dangerous and impractical novelties'.[1] However, it was a time of expansion and he was able to recruit several scholarly men (no women), people like J. F. C. (John) Harrison, E. P. (Edward) Thompson and Walter Stein, who might be expected to be more sympathetic to his ideas. As we shall see, they were not all wholly in agreement with him.

One reason why Raybould's ideas, spread throughout the country by means of many speaking engagements and several publications, were not warmly welcomed was that they seemed to suggest that some, if not much, of university adult education was not up to university standard. Some of us who worked for Raybould admired his 'truisms'. I came to the Department from a year's work as a WEA organizing tutor and I had not heard of Raybould, but I knew the *Regulations* of the Ministry of Education, which supervised and partly paid for the work. I was teaching a WEA one-year course and when I announced at the first meeting that written work would be set, the elderly branch chairman quickly said: 'That's all right, Mr Shaw, we know what you mean. We'll send you a Christmas card!' I explained that was not what I meant, and so became what might be called a premature Raybouldian.

The Tradition

When I joined the Department and read the history of adult education as well as Raybould's own writings, I soon realized that his aim of bringing university standard courses to working people, far from being a dangerous novelty, was simply a restatement of the original aim of the partnership between 'labour and learning', that is between the WEA and the universities. I also knew that the rules of the game were often ignored. Back in 1905, Albert Mansbridge, the founder of the WEA, expressed fears that the Association might fail 'unless intensive class teaching up to university standard was developed'.[2] Three years later, R. H. Tawney, in the first tutorial classes, delivered what Mansbridge had hoped for.

Tawney frequently reiterated his commitment to university standards but nowhere more forcibly than in a private letter to Raybould in September 1948. Tawney begins by saying that the decline in three-year tutorial classes and indifference to the quality of the work 'are only too well established and are all disastrous'. The WEA, he continues, has been criticized 'on the ground that it demands from unsophisticated workers intellectual standards of inhuman rigour'. However, Tawney believes that a valid criticism is quite the opposite: that the WEA has steadily relaxed the demands it makes. In his view, people should be told that 'unless they are prepared to live up to exacting commitments, they had better keep away'.

This situation, Tawney believes, has not so much come about through a deliberate policy change as through 'a mere following of the line of least resistance'. Finally, he recalls that the partnership with universities has hitherto been seen as a guarantee of quality, but now some universities 'appear to be indifferent whether their extramural work is of a university standard or not'. I knew from first-hand experience that Tawney and Raybould were right and twenty-five years later, as a professor of adult education myself, I did a survey of extramural standards on behalf of the Universities Council for Adult Education which showed Tawney's diagnosis still applied.[3] The summary provoked cries of anger when I presented it to the UCAE; as one professor put it, 'we heard this sort of thing from Raybould ...'

Written Work

In the 1950s it was not uncommon to find experienced tutorial class students in a new class responding to a tutor's request for written work with the complaint that 'Mr So-and-so never asked us for written work.' I sometimes wondered how Mr So-and-so completed the official registers which required him to certify that students had done 'such written work as has been required' and then I reflected that such wording allowed a sophistical evasion: none was done, but none was required.

Written work was a great stumbling block for many students and for too many tutors. Raybould liked to recall that fortnightly essays were required in the first tutorial classes, but even under his regime none of us would dare to ask for more than three or four 'pieces of work' in a twenty-four-meeting session.

Apart from the intrinsic educational case for having written work, I felt it was wrong if we tutors enjoyed the fruits of assimilation to the pay and conditions of internal university staff and yet jibbed at the obvious corollary of this policy. At the risk of sounding immodest, I must say that I found little difficulty in eliciting written work in my philosophy classes and thought that failure to get it often came from a wrong approach by the tutor, presenting it as a 'requirement' foisted on them (and him) by 'regulations'—an unlovely word.

John Harrison wrote in a class report of having great difficulty in persuading a particular class to read and write, so much so that he brought in Raybould to explain why they should. This had no effect, and John recommended that the class should be closed at the end of the first year. One of my own students told me that he feared too many shorter courses which called for little or no student effort and had 'spoiled some of us for tutorial class work'. Later, one of the best students I had, Freda Stuffins, who recruited an excellent class which revitalized a moribund WEA branch at Harrogate, wrote at the foot of her first long essay: 'This essay took longer and took more effort to produce than five babies.' The WEA branch president told members of the class that he feared that Rayboudian rigour 'was taking the joy out of adult education'. However, their enthusiasm provoked his curiosity and he asked to visit the class for a few weeks. He was welcomed, and at the end of his visit handed me an unexpected thousand-word essay, saying 'I thought it was only fair to do this in return for my enjoyment.'

Relations with the WEA

If university standards were a challenge to us all, they were a particular challenge to the WEA. In the late 1940s relations between the university and the WEA were good, but in the 1950s they gradually became strained. It is important to recall that Raybould's pamphlets, *The Approach to WEA Teaching*, his small book on *The WEA: The next phase* and even his larger book on *The English Universities and Adult Education*, were all published by the WEA nationally. He wrote as a WEA member (indeed he was for a time vice-president) and frequently referred to 'our Association' and 'our problems'. In encouraging the WEA to concentrate on recruiting working-class students for university tutorial classes, he was not imposing a new rigour but merely reminding the WEA of the words of its own constitution and of the conditions of the University–WEA partnership, going back almost half a century.

He often recalled the judgement of a prestigious report on the first tutorial classes which stressed that university standards were achieved only by 'long and severe discipline'[4] and he pointed out that if people wanted softer options, they were available in independent WEA and LEA classes. University classes had to be more demanding. Many of us accepted that, but the WEA district secretary, Fred Sedgwick, and his voluntary branch members who were charged with the job of recruitment, found it harder to tell potential students that, as Tawney put it, 'if they were not prepared to live up to exacting commitments they had better stay away'. Tutors' feelings were complicated by the fact that Sedgwick was a gentle, loveable man, no match for Raybould in the battle of ideas. Some of us felt that we must take Raybould's side, particularly as we increasingly recruited our own classes, but we were torn.

Looking back, John Harrison has recently argued (in his autobiography) that Raybould was asking too much of the WEA.[5] He concedes that university standards were implicit in the University–WEA partnership from the beginning, but feels that by the mid-century, the social and educational

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climate had changed in ways that made them more difficult to apply, and perhaps inappropriate. Tawney did not feel this, and the later success of the Open University, which made much more serious demands for student effort, supports his view. However, by saying 'we interpret the word "workers" in no narrow sense' he did endorse the sophistical arguments prevalent in the WEA which tended to define the word as meaning anyone who works, driving a coach and horses through the original definition. The reason for this was that it was more difficult to recruit working-class students than middle-class students, who often had more education and knew the value of it: more wanted more.

The then Manchester extramural director, R. D. Waller, commented that 'Raybould habitually looked at universities from a WEA angle', and indeed he did, but in 1953 he was endorsing the general view of the universities when he wrote that 'it is the WEA's business, not the universities', to see that WEA students are in fact the people most worth teaching. If they cease to be, the choice may fall elsewhere.'[6] Six years later, when he edited a departmental volume of essays, *Trends in Adult Education*, it was generally recognized that the WEA was in serious trouble. John Harrison wrote that it was not a 'dying body', but was waiting Micawber-like, for something to turn up. I quoted a study of voluntary organizations in general which said that they 'often cling to their form when the spirit had gone ... They must change their form and activity with the changing times.'[7] The WEA has changed, and I leave to others still working in adult education to judge whether the change has been a good one.

'Raybouldism'

Since Raybould's views were not novel, but a call to return to original principles, I have wondered why people now talk of 'Raybouldism' and think it may be for two reasons, one directly concerned with his personality and the other indirectly.

His personal style appeared less in his writings than in his day-to-day running of the Department. After his death, a public tribute by an old friend described him as 'masterful', a generous way of putting it, for to those who worked closely with him he seemed to become increasingly authoritarian as the years went by. Although quite capable of winning a reasoned argument, he became very dogmatic, not least about the question of how long classes should last. Three became a sacred number in his mind, and when I suggested (in writing and in committees) that high standards could be achieved in two-year, or even one-year courses when the students had a good educational background—which was increasingly common—he regarded this as the apostasy of a former disciple. We quarrelled, and I eventually left to run my own department at Keele University. Ironically, the WEA had opposed my appointment there on the grounds that I was 'a Raybould man': which, with reservations, I was.

Objectivity

The other distinctive feature of Raybouldism was, again, far from new, but it provoked much debate at the time. It was the principle of objectivity, which he saw as the mark of university teaching at its best. He equated it with disinterestedness and 'the capacity to see things as they are and not as our hopes and fears might prompt us to see them'. He often invoked a famous report made in 1909 on the first tutorial classes, which held that university teaching was 'scientific, detached and impartial in character'. Roger Fieldhouse has usefully reminded us why this was a matter for heated argument in Raybould's time. It was, he recalls, a period when 'the liberal tradition of adult education was besieged by cold war anti-communism'.[8] I think that puts it too strongly, certainly as far as the Leeds Department was concerned, and although he cites some telling examples, I think he fails to do justice to the fact that at the time there was some reason to be wary of communists. Even on his showing, they were sometimes too anxious to use adult education to propagate their views.

Fieldhouse has denounced as 'a ridiculous eddy of McCarthyism'[9] the complaint of a local education committee in another extramural area about a tutor putting the *Communist Manifesto* on her reading list; but her university stood by her, and throughout that period I not only included the *Manifesto* on my political philosophy course reading list, but I sold a copy of the document, which was freely available as a sixpenny pamphlet, to every student. There were no complaints from Raybould or any other authority though I must have sold more copies of the *Manifesto* than the most dedicated communist in the area. The only complaint I did have was from students in one class whose essays I had criticized for crude anti-communism. They accused me of taking 'an academic attitude to the menace of communism'. I took this as a back-handed compliment to my objectivity.

In so far as communist tutors did advocate their views, Fieldhouse argues that they had a right to offer an alternative to the 'dominant bourgeois capitalist perspective'.[10] This sounds rather comic to one who recalls that, in the Leeds Department at any rate, we were all socialists to a man, including the director. One, of course, was a well-known communist, E. P. Thompson, but although Raybould had expressed general misgivings about communist tutors he never tried to cramp Edward's style, and Edward made no secret of his beliefs and aims. At a meeting in Raybould's room where a small group of us were asked to say what we saw as the aim of teaching our particular subjects, Edward said breezily 'to create revolutionaries!' There was no shock–horror in anyone's reaction, rather admiration tinged with amusement.

Edward was a warm and very likeable person. True, before 1956 some of us would argue with him in a friendly way about his defence of Stalin, while he would criticize me for using Plato's *Republic* as a starting point for the study of philosophy. Plato, he rightly asserted, was an authoritarian but I retorted that I was not preaching Plato but teaching him and discussing him. Eventually, we became friendly colleagues and learned to tolerate our differing views, even when he wrote a quasi-marxist paper entitled 'Against University Standards'[11] which I thought wrong-headed.

Conclusion

To be in Raybould's Department just after the war was an exciting experience. His general policies still seem to me as relevant today as they were then; perhaps even more so, for then the emancipation of the workers seemed to have been achieved. There was full employment and trade unions were riding high. In the 1990s, all that is changed and

> There is only the fight to recover what has been lost
> And found and lost again and again: and now, under conditions
> That seem unpropitious.[12]

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3

The Department and the Community Dimension

Richard Taylor and Kevin Ward

The Leeds Department has always had a strong commitment to social purpose and to working-class adult education. The chapters by Roger Fieldhouse and Tom Caldwell in this volume give eloquent evidence of the Department's roots in these traditions. Under Raybould's (and Sedgwick's) influence, the Department was built initially in the 1940s and 1950s on this ideological stance, albeit considerably tempered, as Roger Fieldhouse shows, by other Raybouldian agendas.

There were two main aspects of the Department's programme which reflected these concerns through the early years: the Joint Tutorial Classes provision, and the industrial studies work. Both these are discussed in some detail elsewhere in this volume. The primary concern of this chapter is to analyse the community education developments of the 1980s and 1990s in the Department's work. Before that, however, we should examine whether or not there is a continuing ideological rationale—or a series of such rationales—for these commitments.

To begin at the beginning, and with the most banal of social truisms: Britain has always been a grossly unequal society.[1] In the period since 1945, and contrary to popular belief, patterns of inequality have changed little,[2] except over the years of Conservative rule since 1979, when, by common consent, inequality has increased substantially. It is a society permeated by every sort of inequality—material, of course, in terms of income and wealth ownership,[3] but also social. In no other comparable society are accent, dress, manners, life style and so on such important and immediately recognizable factors in class identity.

Within this web of inequality, education has occupied a central position. At the pinnacle of the educational hierarchy have been, traditionally, the universities. And, within the universities, there has long been a well-understood pecking order, though after Oxford and Cambridge the precise rankings have always been a regular topic for academic parlour games, not to say back-biting. What has characterized all universities, however, at least until the abolition of the binary line and the entry of the former polytechnics into the frame (of which more later), has been their overwhelmingly middle- and upper-middle-class membership and ethos, their Eurocentric curricula, and their general élitism.

For many years, departments of continuing education or extramural departments were among the few parts of the university system which had any real contact with the wider society—or for that matter with the community and region in which the university was situated. Not only did they operate as the off-licence of the university but often also as its liberal conscience.

The departments themselves, especially the larger ones like Leeds, often operated as mini-universities in their own right, at least as far as arts and social studies subjects were concerned. There was general agreement that an important function of the specialist continuing education departments was to bring university-level provision, taught within the liberal, critical framework of the university, to that large majority of the population that had had no opportunity of university education. This was construed by most adult educators, for most of the post-1945 period, as being essentially the working class, which was usually assumed, implicitly, to be the male, manual working class.[4]

But what was the rationale behind this commitment? At Leeds, more than in most comparable departments, this has often been a bone of contention. Everyone has agreed, more or less, with the notion of individual self-development through involvement with adult education. However, this too has become contentious when 'development' has shaded into 'advancement' (whether into higher-level training and education, or directly into better-paid or higher-status occupations). Moreover, the Mansbridgean gloss—which may be caricatured as disseminating high culture to the masses—has not always found favour with those on the Left. Most significantly of all, however, there has been disagreement between those who have understood the social purpose of adult education within the reformist, Labourist mould, and those who have espoused a more radical, socially transformative vision.[5]

This was a particularly acute discussion in the Raybould era, given his strongly Labourist stance and his somewhat authoritarian style.[6] But it also surfaced again in the later 1970s with often intense, and to an extent intergenerational, debates between roughly analogous groups of Labourists and neo-Marxists in the Department.[7]

In the decades from the 1950s to the 1970s these debates tended to centre on the content and orientation of the industrial studies programme, as Roger Dyson's chapter in this volume illustrates in the author's inimitable way. The 1980s saw a radically changed series of perspectives in the wider society, however. The election of a highly ideological Conservative government in 1979, and the subsequent 'return to market forces' and high levels of unemployment, was combined with a renaissance of social movement politics and the beginnings of post-modernist social and political analysis.

This proved fertile ground, in the microcosm of the Leeds Department, for the development of a radical community education programme which, in the new context, succeeded (for most of the time!) in overarching previous ideological divisions. A fortuitous combination of circumstances provided the right mix for the new initiative to take off. Jean Gardiner had had several years of community education experience working with Richard Taylor and others at Bradford, and Kevin Ward had had complementary experience as a community worker in Batley, and as a community work lecturer on the Department's social work courses.[8] Norman Jepson, as a sympathetic head of department, worked with HMI John Steel and Richard Taylor to secure support from the DES, both in principle and—more importantly—tangibly in the form of providing the bulk of the finance for a special new appointment to work with unemployed adults. Kevin Ward was appointed to this post in 1981.

The concerns of 'Pioneer Work', as we termed the new area of work, were focused upon groups of disadvantaged adults in the region. All these groups were indeed 'working class' but they were also subject to double disadvantage. They were working class and unemployed, or female, or black, or retired (and often a combination of two or more of these). All were 'unwaged', dependent upon the State to a large extent, and were generally in the most disadvantaged section of the working class. All these groups also had major educational, as well as economic, social, and psychological needs.

The Pioneer Work team consisted of Richard Taylor, Kevin Ward, and

Jean Gardiner: Jill Liddington joined us a little later. We also had a group of immensely hard-working part-time organizing tutors who all contributed greatly to the Pioneer Work development. Our original concentration was upon Leeds and Bradford, where we had well-established networks: and since the late 1980s we have extended our community education provision to Teesside. It is significant that the 1981 University Group, under Professor Barratt, which was established to review the Department in a context of swingeing UGC cuts and a climate generally hostile to university adult and continuing education, recommended that community adult education with disadvantaged sections of the community should become an established feature of the Department's work. The group's report also stressed the importance in this context of educational innovation, experimentation and research. This marked the beginning of institutional legitimacy for this type of work at Leeds, and led to the setting up of the Pioneer Work section of the Department in 1982, with guaranteed full-time and part-time staff resources. Much of the credit for achieving this breakthrough must go to HMI John Steel, whose advocacy of this area of work impressed the University's review group. This structure in the Department was planned deliberately to provide a long-term base to ensure that this type of work was not ghettoized or marginalized, but became a distinctive feature of departmental provision. In spite of the 14 per cent cut in the University's UGC finances, and more specifically, an additional 14.3 per cent reduction in the national funding for university adult education from 1983 to 1986, this structure and the resourcing of it from mainstream sources has been retained—through all the volatilities which we have experienced from 1982 to 1995.

The origins and development of Pioneer Work have been well documented elsewhere.[3] Here, we simply offer a summary of its aims, framework and provision in the 1980s.

The four primary aims of Pioneer Work were to create educationally innovative structures and curricula for the development of working-class adult education; to select specific 'target groups' within the community for which such provision can be made, and to devise programmes specifically designed to meet their needs; to build a network of inter-agency links across a very wide field including, in particular, local authorities, voluntary organizations, and community groups; and, finally and crucially, to monitor and analyse provision including socio-political and educational evidence concerning the 'success levels' and the intended and unintended outcomes of the various approaches adopted.[10]

In the first three years of Pioneer Work's existence, 343 courses, attracting almost 4,000 participants, were organized with working-class groups in Leeds and Bradford. These included courses with unemployed people, older adults and black groups. Special provision was also made for women. Nine tenths of participants had left school at the minimum age.

Four approaches were used to develop this work:

- the community approach: working through community groups, small voluntary bodies, tenants' associations and neighbourhood groups
- the institutional approach: inter-agency working with other educational and related bodies to maximize scarce resources
- the organizational approach: working with organizations concerned with the unemployed, including TUC Centres against Unemployment, Drop-in Centres, and other 'out-of-work' centres
- the trade union approach: developing contacts with trade unions to raise the issue of unemployment and explore possible educational provision for unemployed members.[11]

The resultant diversity of provision was striking. Through the 1980s, many courses and projects were developed with 'active citizens', such as members of tenants' and community groups. Community-based pre-access courses were organized for women in several inner-city areas and council estates. At the request of the TUC, Pioneer Work developed a long-term relationship with the TUC's network of unemployed centres, and organized regular residential courses both regionally and nationally.[12] Work with older adults and ethnic minorities led to courses on pension rights for older Sikh men, Polish history for the older members of Bradford's Polish community, and health issues for Punjabi women.[13] Later in the 1980s the work was extended to Teesside where a wide range of innovatory, community-based creative writing courses was organized in areas of high unemployment. As with other Pioneer Work courses, the majority of participants had left school at the minimum age and most had never written for publication. Very soon, there was a proliferation of students' publications and projects in the Teesside area.

All of this provision depended on inter-agency networking and the development of community contacts through outreach. This led frequently to external funding and support. Leeds City Council, for example, seconded several workers to Pioneer Work, provided funding for targeted courses, and collaborated with Pioneer Work in securing additional external funding for particular projects. Bradford Metropolitan District Council provided funding from its Urban Programme and its Further Education sub-committee to support work with older adults and ethnic minorities. The TUC and trade unions supported the national residential courses for unemployed centres, and this work subsequently received European funding. Departmental annual reports through the 1980s stressed the importance of this external funding, but warned that this could only be secured and used effectively if core funding was maintained.

The research framework which had been developed in this field in Leeds can be described as a type of applied research in which action and research are interwoven in such a way that the design, implementation, and intended effects of a programme directed towards change, take place in co-operation with the target groups.[14] Obviously, this framework can only be successful if there are extensive contacts and established legitimacy with the working-class groups in the relevant geographical areas.

By the late 1980s, the Department had well-established links with many local groups, and other agencies and organizations such as the City Council, trade unions, and increasingly the local Training and Enterprise Council. In this context, it is not altogether surprising that some of the local groups and organizations approached the University directly for support and assistance (rather than vice versa as was the case in the 1970s and early 1980s), as well as for collaborative ventures.

From the later 1980s and into the 1990s, the range of collaborators was extended, the range of issues broadened, and links developed further between education, action-research and policy developments. The following examples illustrate these issues.

From the early 1980s, a number of tenants' and community groups had benefited from Pioneer Work courses which had been an educational support for their concerns over housing issues. From the mid-1980s onwards community groups were confronted by a bewildering array of legislation, and financial and organizational changes in housing. With central government strategies designed to minimize the role of the local state, community groups suddenly became key actors, instead of being regarded as passive recipients of state services.

In one particular inner-city area of Leeds a community group requested the University (in partnership with the Policy Research Unit of Leeds Metropolitan University) to apply for funding from the Department of the Environment. The subsequent successful application enabled the tenants' group and the universities to devise an action-research and consultation process, exploring the views of local people on a range of tenant management organizations. From the outset, the group decided on the aims of the action-research; they were involved in the design, and together with the project workers, the implementation of the process.

The Department of the Environment probably hoped that the project would show a majority of tenants in favour of some form of tenant management organization which would minimize the role of, or indeed exclude, the local authority. The local authority was extremely concerned that the project should not lead to any 'opting out'. It was clear from detailed discussions with senior local authority members and officers that the universities were in a delicate position. It was agreed by all parties, however, that it was important to explore in detail the perceptions and views of the tenants.

The questionnaire design, the breakdown of the area into sub-areas for detailed consultations, and the organization of street meetings were carried out by the universities in partnership with the community group. However, since the universities had experience elsewhere with housing groups, and knowledge of local authority policies and attitudes, and central government legislation and views, the consultation exercise became a complex educational process. It provided tenants with the necessary background, context and support within which they could make their own decisions.

This project showed that universities can develop an educational and research partnership with working-class community groups. There is a clear link between education, research, and (housing) policy; and the funding for the work came, not from the HEFCE, but from the Department of the Environment, thus illustrating the possibilities of obtaining funding outside the educational mainstream.

Other recent collaborators with the University and local groups have been Leeds TEC and the local authorities. In 1992, the Department was commissioned by the Leeds local authority to develop an action-research project in an inner-city area focused on a community regeneration strategy. The

University was accountable to the City Council but the process of local negotiation involved the local groups in the design and implementation of a programme for tenant consultation.

This project included research (a survey and analysis of training, education and community experience on the housing estate), and also education and development work (discussions with the tenants' group, based on the survey, of the options and possibilities for the estate, and visits to other community enterprise initiatives). The outcomes included the establishment of a community-based enterprise which enabled local people to take some control and responsibility for initiatives, such as local jobs linked to a partnership homes project on the estate.

There was, however, a policy gap between this local initiative, and its potential implications for other areas and organizations in the city. It is relevant here to outline a recent 1993–94 initiative in which we are involved with Leeds TEC. The Board has agreed to use its surpluses (in excess of £1 million) for investment in six priority local communities, in order to 'mobilize long-term unemployed people'. Although the TEC has adopted a 'top-down' approach in its selection of the priority areas, it has developed a process of negotiation with key groups and workers in them. The TEC, then, is investing in a community development process and the initiative indicates an acceptance by the TEC of the importance of community involvement and community partnership in practice. There is, moreover, a recognition both on the part of the TEC and the local groups that these various initiatives, although tailored to local needs, must also be linked together and related to particular policy and strategic contexts. A network of local projects, local representatives and the TEC is beginning to develop a 'think-tank' function.

This is, then, an imaginative attempt to move beyond the rhetoric of partnership into practical action which will have a range of policy implications. Several local groups have discussed project possibilities with the Department, and the TEC has commissioned the Department to develop both a commentary on the overall process to date and a brief on how the initiative can be monitored and evaluated. The University, through this Department, will thus remain involved, as it should, in this community initiative.

The continuity of mainstream funding—albeit with constantly changing regulations—during the 1980s and into the 1990s has provided a base for the consolidation and extension of earlier work. For example, community adult education was extended from inner-city areas and council estates to outlying areas such as pit villages. In one area devastated by a pit closure in the early 1990s, the Department worked with ex-miners, local women and elderly people to develop a video project on the history of the village and options for the future. This received extensive national and local media coverage, and was further evidence of the University's role in the community.

At a broader level, ongoing relationships with many community and tenants' groups led to the organization of city-wide day-schools by the Department for community groups. These in turn led to the formation of a city-wide and formally recognized association of local groups. The Department continues to provide an educational framework which includes discussion and analysis of groups' aims, strategies and effectiveness, and also the sharing of good practice and comparative analysis with other community groups. In this context, then, there is a link between educational provision, organizational development and the analysis of policy implications.

The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) commissioned a study of the role of universities in their communities which was published in 1994.[15] This report refers to universities' direct economic effects (universities as major employers and major purchasers) as well as their indirect effects such as technology transfer, support for industry, contributions to the arts and cultural life, involvement in local health-care systems and research, and 'social and community development'. This latter category includes voluntary work undertaken by students in the community. What needs questioning, however, given the ever-increasing scale of economic and social problems[16] in many areas where universities are located, is the extent of universities' direct involvement with individuals and groups most affected by economic and political restructuring. Universities are increasingly 'image-conscious' and mission statements now refer not only to their international and national roles but also to their regional and local roles in the community. These statements at least provide a baseline for long overdue development. A decade ago, some of the 'old' universities would not have been too concerned about the 'university and the community'.

In order to exploit this opportunity, however, some mainstream resources are necessary. The examples in this chapter illustrate how it has been possible to use both mainstream and other sources of funding to maintain and extend an educational and action-research resource for and with community and tenants' groups. Mainstream finances have been available in the 1980s and 1990s for work with 'disadvantaged adults', and, prior to that, albeit with differing and constantly changing regulations, from the University Grants Committee, and the DES when it was responsible for the funding of adult education in universities which had 'responsible body' status. There has thus been a framework to use for this work over the fifteen to twenty years, albeit at a real cost in terms of disproportionate staff input and sacrifice of fee income. In effect, cross subsidy has been essential and at Leeds this has been undertaken, as a matter of principle. For a variety of reasons, many universities and Departments of Adult and Continuing Education have not seen fit, or have been unable, to go down this road.

At Leeds, this has become a substantial part of the Department's work. In 1992/93, for example, the Department was funded for 220 full-time equivalent students (FTEs) for work with 'disadvantaged adults'. (This represented 66,000 student contact hours).

Over the past decade more then £400k has been secured (in addition to mainstream funding) for action-research and development projects involving around 20,000 people, almost all of whom had virtually no previous experience of post-school education and training.

In the university continuing education context, this is a significant achievement. We trust that the University, and the HEFCE, will continue to provide a funding and policy context in which the Leeds Department can continue to translate the rhetoric of a 'community dimension' into an ongoing reality for the twenty-first century.

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4

From Special Courses to Continuing Professional Education

Frankie Todd

Introduction

During the closing decades of the twentieth century, professions—it has come to seem—are everywhere. Few aspects of our lives, from the cradle to the grave, have been untouched by the services of professionals while the post-war period in the United Kingdom has seen a steady flow of successful claims to professional status by a variety of occupational groups.

Continuing professional education has been an intrinsic part of this process of credentialling and incorporation. At the same time the societal changes often summarized as 'the knowledge revolution' have made the continued learning of professionals extremely important for the quality of their practice. This latter process has generated wholly new areas of professional expertise. Accordingly, the development of continuing professional education at the University of Leeds has taken place amidst processes of wider societal change in which the creation and control of expert knowledge has been an important theme.

This chapter considers initiatives at Leeds in the context of these changes. It discusses in turn four distinct periods, 1946–67, then 1967–82, next 1982–88, and ultimately 1988–94—periods which correspond to major shifts in organizational structure.

Two points should be made as preface. One is that the organizational unit discussed in the first three sections of this chapter corresponds to the unitary Department as it was under various titles until the reorganization of 1988. However, the last section discusses the work of the Department of Continuing Professional Education which was founded in 1988 as a free-standing department in the new, federal School of Continuing Education. From

1990, with the dissolution of the School, the Department of CPE became fully free-standing. The second point is that courses that would now be termed continuing vocational, or continuing professional education were offered by the then Department of Extramural Studies from early in the post-war period but were not categorized as such, nor, for a substantial part of the period, was this provision given a dedicated niche in the department's structure. Why each of these factors should have been so—why it took so long to offer continuing professional education as a specialism in its own right and to institute an organizational unit dedicated to it—is a question that runs through this chapter.

1946–67: Continuing Professional Education as a submerged curriculum

> 'Educationally after the war Britain had to be one nation not two.'[1]

At the onset of the Second World War it was still education in the elementary schools (predominantly all-in establishments from five to fourteen) that shaped over ninety per cent of the population. It was against this background of acutely limited access to education beyond minimum school leaving age for all but a privileged few, that the University of Leeds had provided extension courses and university tutorial (Joint Committee) classes for many years before the war in association with the Workers' Educational Association and local education authorities.[2]

R. A. Butler, the architect of the 1944 Education Act, believed that secondary 'education for all' would need to be complemented by education continued beyond school including 'expert training for industry'.[3] The Act made it a statutory duty of local authorities to secure the provision of further education beyond school-leaving age. The need for a better-educated population was seen as intrinsic to the process of post-war reconstruction. The Percy Report of 1944 recommended the doubling of the annual number of engineering graduates, the Goodenough Committee of 1944 called for increased provision of medical education, and the Barlow Committee of 1946 for a doubling in the supply of scientists and technologists. At the same time a number of new academic and professional specialisms—some based on the application to civilian life of expertise developed for other purposes during the war—were coming into being.

These circumstances were echoed in discussions about the purposes to which and the clientele toward whom post-war university adult education should be directed. The report reviewing the first twenty years of the Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies (1967) quotes a 'Statement of Principles' published in the late 1940s by the Universities Council for Adult Education arguing that university extramural departments should make their services available more widely—to any groups or bodies able to bring forward students prepared to work at university level. The report notes that one 'striking consequence' of actions taken by the new extramural departments in support of this policy was 'a great increase in the numbers of men and women attending extramural classes who had had full time education beyond the minimum school-leaving age, in grammar schools, local education authority colleges, and universities'.

At the University of Leeds, the committee report which led to the founding of the Department of Extramural Studies argued that the previous programme had been 'at once too narrow and too rigid' and saw the need for courses in areas not previously covered including 'important subjects, such as certain developments of science' and for 'refresher courses'. This work was to be promoted by a standing committee of the new Board of Extramural Studies, the Extension Lectures Committee. Programmes offered in association with the WEA continued to be offered under the remit of a separate Joint Tutorial Classes Committee of the Board.

It is in the programmes overseen by the Extension Lectures Committee in the first ten years of the Department's life that courses with a professional-occupation focus can be seen. The report on the first decade of adult education at the University of Leeds describes the origins of a short course in leather technology developed at the request to the University of local manufacturers in the leather industry. This request gave rise to 'considerable discussion' by a number of parties. The Leeds local education authority thought it might be more appropriate if this sort of provision was offered part-time by the technical colleges. The Department was uneasy with a type of course greatly different from the liberal education of adults which it saw as its primary purpose. Running this course also entailed devolution of academic aspects of the course to the Department of Leather Industries, the Department of Extramural Studies retaining responsibility only for 'assisting in its organisation and administration'.

The liberal/vocational debate triggered by this request was to become an unresolved feature of discourse in the Leeds Department, no less than in UK adult education as a whole. The 'organization and administration' role in respect of courses offered by intramural departments was soon formalized by Senate, thus institutionalizing an academic/administrative split which was to become characteristic of subsequent policy.

One of the features of the whole programme of extension work in its first ten years was its experimental nature. Whilst the former Joint Committee work continued (under a new committee structure) a programme grounded in the educational philosophy of the WEA's founder, Albert Mansbridge, the limited nature of the University's pre-war involvement in extension work meant that 'without preliminary trials and publicity it was not possible to know what kinds of facilities were most needed' by the new potential students.[7] There were no obvious partner societies or centres with which to work as had been so long the case with workers' education. The post-war extension programme therefore provided a variety of new courses on an experimental and trial basis to find out what might be sustained. Further vocational and 'refresher' courses of varying lengths were included in this mixed bag, some organized, as with the leather technology course which had caused so much debate, in collaboration with intramural departments, and some residential. The topics covered included 'Mining, Fuel Technology, Engineering, Metallurgy, Management, Management Accountancy, Farm Management, Agriculture and Horticulture, Polarisation Microscopy, and Emotional Aspects of Probation Casework'.[8]

It was assumed that these courses could be expected to be 'of an advanced character for students already possessed of a good grounding in the subject of study'. Some participants had had 'further education in technical colleges, training colleges or universities'.[9] Accordingly, these courses were shorter than the three-year courses that had come to have normative status in Joint Committee work. For some years the tutors on extension courses were, predominantly, members of the University's intramural staff, that is academic staff from other departments, teaching part-time on the extension courses.

From the report on the first ten years' work of the Department of Extramural Studies it appears that the core mission, as far as full-time staff of the Department were concerned, was seen as liberal adult education. While the task at issue was viewed as the development of an extension programme for groups beyond those reached by the WEA ethos, there was as yet no developed philosophy underlying extension work. Neither vocational nor continuing professional education was assertively espoused but each developed initially in response to outsiders' requests.

Two developments at the end of the first ten years work are significant in different ways for the path which continuing vocational or professional education subsequently might follow. One was the institution of a research role for the Department. This focused on the study of adult education, and a chair appointment in adult education followed in 1953. The other was the enhancement of the full-time staff base for extension work. Because of shifts in the funding base and unexpected diminution in demand from WEA branches for Joint Committee classes, the services of the Department's own tutors previously involved in joint work with the WEA became available to the Extension Committee. This consolidation of the adult education function—and of the liberal adult education ethos—of the Department was marked by a shift in title from the Department of Extramural Studies to the Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, reflecting the newly twofold responsibilities.

Despite this consolidation the report on the first ten years of the Department's work concludes by drawing attention to the fears of Harold Wiltshire, later professor and director of Adult Education at Nottingham University, concerning the potential destruction of the 'great tradition' of non-vocational study in English university adult education by provision of occupationally-related courses and courses leading to examinations and qualifications. These fears are contrasted with the call of Sir Eric Ashby that 'humanism through technology should become one of the growing points in adult education'.[10] The report makes no attempt to reconcile or evaluate these views and the challenge to develop a sound educational philosophy for vocational provision, implied by Sir Eric Ashby, was not taken up at Leeds.

1957–67

So far, the work which the Department thought of as vocational had been taught by other 'intramural' university departments, with Extramural Studies playing only an organizational role. Also no formal distinction had been made between three rather different types of provision: education of a vocational nature for people lacking relevant qualifications; programmes of general interest attended by people already well qualified, perhaps to university level; and continuing professional education, that is programmes designed to support good standards of practice for qualified and experienced professionals.

Each of these types of provision posed challenges to the Department. The Department saw the particular expertise of liberal adult educators as dealing with the problems arising from 'the teaching of adults, particularly in courses of liberal study not leading to any examination or qualification'. Examinations and qualifications could, it was thought, bring dangers to 'the tutor's freedom to teach his subject as he thought best'. Vocational courses for unqualified people not only were not 'liberal' courses but were also likely to bring examinations in their train—and a syllabus that would limit the tutor's freedom. The second type of provision could be perceived as liberal in form—even if the participants were not under-educated workers. When some of these groups specifically requested the facility to sit for a qualification, it was agreed that the University Extension Certificate, subsequently instituted, should still leave the tutor free to set his own syllabus to divert the danger perceived to be posed by fixed syllabuses. Also, 'no attempt was made to arouse particular interest in Certificate courses'. The third form of provision was not perceived as 'liberal': indeed, in the English liberal adult education movement no provision limited entirely to occupational interests can be liberal, by definition. Such provision was further distanced from liberal adult education because the academic expertise for such courses lay in other university departments—and even outside the University in professional practice settings.[11]

Clearly, it was the second of these three kinds of provision that sat most comfortably as a post-war diversified extension of the pre-war work the Joint Committee had undertaken with the WEA. Fiscal considerations supported the Department's prevailing educational philosophy in that government-provided grant could be used 'only to support the teaching costs of work designed to further the liberal education of adults'. 'Vocational studies' or 'training in skills' could be developed and offered, but could not be aided by these restricted grants.[12]

There was certainly a demand for continuing professional education. Cyril Houle, the doyen of continuing professional education, has described how

> The founders of the complex modern professions either took continuing education for granted or were careful to include formal methods of such learning in their original plans for professionalization. To many pioneers, it appeared self-evident that advanced technical knowledge could not be acquired in a few years of schooling at the beginning of adulthood; practical necessities would require any successful physician, attorney, engineer or other practitioner to keep on learning in order to solve the problems which appeared daily.[13]

English extramural departments, including Leeds, interpreted these fiscal regulations in the context of their own ethos of liberal adult education. In common with other universities, Leeds maintained an approach which equated 'adult education' with 'liberal adult education'. The 1967 Review of twenty-one years of adult education at the University of Leeds noted that this was

> much to the mystification of North American observers, who used [adult education] quite literally, and logically, to cover all kinds of education which are undertaken by adults, and who often express surprise at the absence from our programmes of courses for professional education of any kinds.[14]

The next paragraph of the report is worth quoting in full:

> In retrospect, and in the light of experience in the USA, and Canada, it does seem surprising that the English extramural departments have not developed vocational studies until very recent years. The fact that they have not been allowed to use government grants for this purpose need not have been decisive: the North American experience indicates clearly that vocational studies can be expected to be financially self-supporting and, indeed, this is usually true of the special courses organized by this Department for internal departments, which often have direct vocational interest for the students. Nevertheless, it was not until 1957 that the Department undertook work of this kind as part of its own programme, independently of other departments; and even then, the initiative came from outside, and not from within the Department.

The Report goes on to describe four separate developments between 1952 and 1967, each of which for the first time—as provision from the Department *sui generis*—constituted continuing professional education. The first of these was a series of residential training courses of hospital administrators developed at the request of the Ministry of Health and with the support of the Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust. After a successful pilot period, subsequently extended, it was agreed that this work needed to be put on a permanent basis with the establishment of a centre for hospital studies. In

1961 this became the Nuffield Centre for Hospital and Health Service Studies. By 1968 this Centre had moved out of the Department altogether to operate independently, with responsibility for the academic work of the Centre given to a new committee of Senate instead of the Board of Extramural Studies as previously. The Nuffield Centre for Health Service Studies has continued to grow since then.

The other three initiatives in the latter part of the period were firstly, the development of vocational education and training for staff of the Prison Service, linked to research and consultancy provided by the Department; secondly, vocational education provided for Probation Service staff, similarly at the request of the Home Office; and programmes for Child Care officers, also for the Home Office.

This period of the Department's history concluded with the next major review of the Department's structure, conducted by a Senate committee set up in 1967. The committee recommended

> that the Department should comprise three academic divisions and an administrative division, each with a head appointed by Council and answerable to the head of the Department. The three academic divisions are concerned with the study of adult education, the promotion of liberal adult education, and applied social studies respectively. The fourth division will be exclusively concerned with the organisation and administration of refresher and similar courses sponsored and academically planned and directed by internal departments of the University.[15]

The next section considers the work of two of these divisions.

CPE as a divided curriculum: 1967–82

To trace the next stages in the development of continuing professional education at Leeds it is necessary to look at the work of two of these new divisions. The programmes developed for the Home Office aimed at prison officers, probation officers and child-care workers were grouped in the new organizational structure categorized by the broad disciplinary area which they shared, rather than by the type of provision made. Thus these programmes became the heart of the work of the new Division of Applied Social Studies. As summarized above, this division was one of three academic divisions. For this reason, it was not only possible, but of course expected that a programme of research related to this teaching would be carried out.

Indeed, this programme traced its origins back to research and consultancy work conducted by a member of the Department's staff.

The work of this Division from its inception is discussed in more detail elsewhere in this volume in Chapters 12 and 13. For our purposes here it suffices to note that the programme grew steadily and that the Division developed a number of new courses for professionals, some of them leading to qualifications validated by external professional associations or employing bodies. For the first time reports on this period of the Department's work begin to use terms such as 'professional training'. The work of this Division was seen as offering both graduate and non-graduate courses of professional training.

By contrast, the Special Courses Division ('the fourth division') was defined as a non-academic unit. Its task was to organize and administer short courses and conferences offered by other departments in the university, which took sole responsibility for curriculum design and academic decisions over course content. Although there had been early discussions positing that the Special Courses Division might take on responsibility for part-time degree provision this was not implemented and the Division took responsibility only for short courses which were not associated with programmes of study and which did not lead to qualifications.

The programme of the Division was extremely mixed and reflected the varying interests of many of the departments in the university over this period. Participants might be senior and experienced professionals taking part in what was then thought of as post-experience education or they might be in mid-career or even recently qualified. However, 'Special Courses' by no means specialized in short courses for professionals only. The task the Division had been given had not been framed in terms of an educational rationale relating to the needs of a particular type of clientele, such as professionals. Rather it had been framed with an organizational and financial imperative in mind. There was an opportunity for the University to respond to the needs of a wider group of potential participants and to gain income from provision of short courses. This potential was not being fully realized.

The Director of the Division, Tom Gleave, who had long experience of the extension side of the work of the Department, sought most successfully to expand the number of courses offered and to increase the number of the University's departments which contributed to the programme. From this standpoint it made little difference whether what was offered was a course or a conference, and whether the participants were professionals or not. Accordingly, although the subsequent expansion until the early 1980s included a strong core of post-experience courses offered for a variety of professional groups, the growing programme also included courses for sixth-formers and courses of purely leisure interest, as for instance the popular summer course on the Brontës. If an internal department wished to offer a course, the Division would provide the organizational and administrative back-up.

Although the Division was part of the Department it had a certain amount of autonomy. Tom Gleave, as head of the Division, had the title of 'Director of Special Courses'—none of the heads of the other divisions had such a designation—to enable him to meet senior industrialists and professionals with a title that had some meaning in their world. And the Division's finances were also in some degree separate from those of the rest of the Department. The post was both senior and administrative and was to an extent built around the abilities and experience of Tom Gleave, both in the Department and in his preceding administrative career.

This separation extended to autonomy over the costing of courses and course budgets and in making recommendations to the University about the level of fees to be paid to intramural staff. However, this autonomy did not extend so far as to allow the Special Courses Division to retain surpluses which it made. These were first split fifty-fifty between the Division and the partner intramural department; then Special Courses' share, after clerical and equipment costs had been met, was handed back to the Department as a whole. The core posts of Director, a part-time secretary and, from the late 1970s, an administrative assistant, were funded by the University. The programme did not qualify for grant-in-aid from the DES and the course programme overall was required to be self-financing, with fees covering the salary costs of the clerical staff concerned, and all course running costs—before returning surpluses elsewhere as summarized above. The Division soon became a generator of income both to other intramural academic departments in the University and to the Department.

A number of constraints limited further opportunities for expansion and development of the Division's work. The Director asked unsuccessfully for an Assistant Director and for further staff resource to make it possible to seize opportunities for expansion which he thought were going to the (then) polytechnics and to the Open University. The Director also sought support for improved facilities for residential courses and for better reward mechanisms for departments contributing to Special Courses, together with an enhancement, by the Director, of the University's committee and faculty structure in relation to the support of Special Courses. The Division made some investments in other departments from its own funds during this period but sought in vain for institutional pump-priming for more substantial developments. This was particularly regretted as in the early 1980s the DES published a major national review document highlighting the importance of post-experience education and then began to make available some funds for the sector on a competitive basis to enhance the infrastructure in higher education institutions. The Director thought that a strengthening of the staff base and of the organizational and committee structure relating to 'Special Courses' would enhance the University's chances of success in the new national policy framework.

By 1980 the structure and organization of continuing education at Leeds had once more come under review. The outcome was that the Division of Special Courses was dissolved, coincident with the retirement of the then Director. The position and title were replaced by that of Director of Continuing Education within a unified Department of Adult and Continuing Education. This was made as an academic appointment at Senior Lecturer level. The work of the Department now came under the responsibility of the new Committee on Adult and Continuing Education. This was a disappointment to the outgoing Director who had hoped that the review group's original recommendation for a separate committee for 'Special Courses and post-experience work' would be accepted.

The committee also decided that the new Director should be given the goal of making the Special Courses programme wholly self-financing. By this it was meant that fee income from short courses should cover not only the running costs of courses and the associated clerical staff costs, but also the costs of the 'core' posts hitherto supported by University funds. The outgoing Director wondered 'whether the structure eventually arrived at at Leeds will give the necessary encouragement to the further development of Special Courses' and also whether 'an ideal opportunity has been missed'.[16]

1982–88: Fiscal imperatives and national initiatives

The 1980s brought a series of important changes in national policy on adult and continuing education. Between 1983 and 1986 the funding for liberal adult education was cut substantially, creating financial difficulties for all 'responsible body' universities, including the Department at Leeds.[17] Also, and for the first time, an 'output' criterion of the number of students attending such courses entered the funding formula.

In the same period the Department of Education and Science instituted its programme of Professional, Industrial and Commercial Knowledge Updating (PICKUP). This made new funding available to support the development of post-experience education programmes. Initially, the funding was directed at the further education sector, and subsequently at the polytechnics. In each sector funds to support central mechanisms to provide an infrastructure for PICKUP-funded work preceded funding tranches which could be applied to course development. The amount of funding available to support central mechanisms was pitched, by design, at a level which would require institutions to contribute funding from internal resource. There was also funding available for short-term local, collaborative programme development projects, jointly funded by DES PICKUP and other government agencies.

Two features dominated the 'continuing education' (as 'Special Courses' had become) area of work of the Department over the next few years. In the first place there were attempts by the new Director, Tim Bilham, to expand the programme to a scale where it could be wholly self-sustained financially, covering all overheads, not just in any one year but taking the bad years with the good. In some years the financial position improved thanks to one or two extremely large conferences, in other years, though numbers of courses and students rose, paradoxically financial returns went down. Moreover, it became clear that a fully self-financing position could not be assured through the use only of internal departmental colleagues, and an increasing number of courses were run with the academic contribution coming wholly from agencies external to the University.

With the benefit of hindsight it should be recorded that the definition of self-financing status adopted by the Senate committee ignored the returns of surpluses made annually to other University departments. Further, with the introduction of formula funding based on student numbers, mentioned above, the continuing education programme began to attract UGC funding into the University as part of the adult and continuing education block grant. This funding was not earmarked and it was neither applied to the development of new continuing education courses nor taken into account in the definition of what it would mean for continuing education to achieve 'self-funding' status. By the session 1987/88, the year designated by Senate as the one by which the 'continuing education' programme should be wholly self-financing, the element of funding based on 'continuing education' student numbers amounted to around £90,000.

The second feature of the period was a series of successful bids to the new schemes of funding. These not only offered the chance to develop new programme areas in partnership with other educational institutions and outside bodies but also were seen as means to ease partially the financial position of the programme, by being applied to some of the core staff costs. The main initiatives were in the areas of transport studies, management and—at the end of this part of the period—in engineering. However, these schemes of funding were short term in nature and brought substantial additional demands on core staff time without there being any increase in the staff resource.

Towards the end of this part of the period the pressures from these two different sources were sharpened. The UGC initiated a £3 million, three-year package of PICKUP funding to which universities were invited to bid competitively in the spring of 1987. The funding was intended to be applied to the development of new post-experience courses by many or all of the academic departments of each university. Possession of an adequate infrastructure of central support for the use of these funds and the development of such courses was one of the main criteria used in judging bids. Meanwhile, the 1986/87 academic year had been one of the most difficult in the University's history and the Department of Adult and Continuing Education had set up a working group to explore means of making savings. The Director of Continuing Education resigned to take up a new post in October 1987. Once again a committee was set up to look at the University's structures for adult and continuing education. The results of the first round bids to the UGC's PICKUP programme were announced later in 1987: the University of Leeds was awarded nothing.

With the resignation of Tim Bilham in 1987, the University decided upon a new structure. Stuart Marriott had been appointed Professor of Adult Education in 1985, following the retirement of Norman Jepson. From 1985 to 1988, the unitary Department of Adult and Continuing Education continued, but with two Directors, one responsible for External Studies (non-vocational continuing education) and the other for Continuing Education (continuing vocational education). Stuart Marriott was head of department with particular responsibility for research and postgraduate work in continuing education. The reorganization of 1988 saw the creation of a federal School of Continuing Education within the Faculty of Education, embracing four components: a new Department of External Studies; a new Department of Continued (later changed to Continuing) Professional Education; an Office of Part-time Education; and a Unit for the Study of Continuing Education.

1988–94: A Department of Continuing Professional Education

The ancestry of the new Department of CPE was reflected in its founding programme of work, the provision of short course administration. It was also reflected in its staffing of a senior administrator and course secretaries—with no academic staff, although it was clear from the outset that the University intended to make a senior appointment as Director and Head of Department. In an important sense, therefore, the title for the new department was in 1988 no more than a promissory note in academic terms. The task for the new head was to develop a department out of a section and an academic specialism alongside the existing administrative service.

The academic model chosen to be followed was related to the North American approach which defines continuing professional education as an academic field in its own right. In DCPE's model, a continuing professional education centre contributed to the design of continuing professional education by developing a body of knowledge about those features of curriculum design and delivery which have the best potential to support improvements in the quality of professional practice. This can only be achieved by understanding what professionals do—so that research on professional practice is seen as intrinsic to good educational design.

The new head, Frankie Todd, was appointed—as the sole academic in the new department—at professorial-equivalent level to a double-barrelled job title: (a) as Director of CPE and (b) as Head of Department of CPE. The former indicated a university-wide role and in the first instance this was given priority. As noted above, the University had done poorly in its bids to the (then) newly-initiated programme of DES PICKUP funding.

Three different phases of development followed, overlapping in time. Starting in October 1988 there was a focus on university-wide UFC/ HEFCE-funded course development work—preparing strategic plans and bids, initiating a support service, setting up staff development, liaison with funders, monitoring, provision of marketing support and regular cycles of support meetings with project holders in departments. This work took the University from having received around £50,000 in pump-priming in session 1987/88 to around £0.5 million *per annum* through the 1991–95 quadrennium, and from one course development project in one department to twenty or twenty-five each year and occasionally more. This course development work was informed by the model of continuing professional education set out above.

From 1990 onwards an additional focus was on building up a research role for the Department. This had to be done *ab initio*, since there were no lecturers or research staff already in post. The head designed, bid for and directed the two founding research projects which commenced in October 1990. These brought in around £100,000 in external research funding *per annum* and two new research staff. By 1994 there were three researchers in post and the Department had an expansionary plan. Research priorities included: the development of a theoretical base for the design and understanding of continuing professional education; the study of changes in contemporary professional practice (for instance, in relation to Europe); and the development of a model for professional education and professional practice responding to the cultural and ethnic pluralism of contemporary societies.

Starting around 1989, a new initiative was the development and introduction of the first accredited course to be designed and taught on the basis of the Department's own academic expertise in the design of continuing professional education. The Advanced Diploma in Clinical Pharmacy Teaching, offering an in-service teaching qualification to senior hospital clinical pharmacists with responsibilities for teaching clinical pharmacy at undergraduate, postgraduate or continuing professional education levels.

The course is taught over twenty-seven months through intensive residential units intercalated with academic assignments and teaching practice, and completed by submission of a dissertation based on a real curriculum development project.

Course design and development were carried out in collaboration with a senior clinical pharmacist at St James's University Hospital, with contributions from a course planning team of clinical pharmacy educators from the National Health Service. The course admitted its first cohort in 1991 and its second cohort in 1994. It has been supported by the Department of Health and by the Astra Foundation. The head of Department has taught and tutored on the course and, until 1994, chaired its Course Management Committee.

Forward development strategy

The Department of Continuing Professional Education has been in an unusual position in the University in having developed from scratch. The Department was set up without a complement of founding academic staff and none of the areas of work summarized existed prior to October 1988. Development has thus been difficult but the growth that has occurred has resulted from the academic vision for the Department set out above.

There are four elements to the development of this vision through the late 1990s.

- The first of these is the extension of the qualifications the Department offers by developing new, accredited courses for practising professionals in areas which fall within departmental priorities, and based on established relationships with particular professional groups and growing out of research. The new qualifications are intended to be in areas where there is no similar provision from other university departments and in collaboration with departments or outside bodies where specialist continuing professional education contribution is seen as particularly desirable.
- Secondly, the Department aims for the consolidation and growth of the research programme in continuing professional education.
- Thirdly, the Department aims to develop a postgraduate research programme in continuing professional education, offering taught and

research masterships, supervision for research doctorates and a continuing professional education-based version of the EdD.

- Fourthly, the Department aims for the enhancement and consolidation of course development advisory and support functions linked to the accreditation and mainstreaming of the short course programme, where appropriate.

The forward development of CPE proposed depends on a substantial addition of academic staff. They will be needed because of the increasing importance in this and other universities of course development in continuing vocational education, funded through the HEFCE, the need for further links with TECs, and the development of long accredited courses. The Department of CPE therefore plans to consolidate and expand its existing research strengths, its teaching initiatives and links with professional groups, generate new educational programmes and extend its outreach, globally, via electronic networks.

By the year 2000 it is planned to appoint between ten and twelve new lecturers and designate two or three focal areas for development. This initiative will be based on a number of key design features. Networking the Department's existing connections is essential and interdisciplinary programmes of work will be designed for multiple usage with departmental support being available at all stages to the lecturers involved. The most important elements of course development are that collaboration with client groups is cardinal, and provision is collaborative with fellow institutions. Franchising arrangements with foreign partners and development of distance-learning techniques are planned while the support of experiential professional learning and best practice using dialogic techniques is the proposed teaching model.

The wide-ranging review of Continuing Education at the University of Leeds, which will be completed by the time this chapter appears, will of course decide the fate of these proposals. Throughout its fifty years, continuing professional education at Leeds has been dogged by its anomalous status, through the separation of accredited and non-accredited courses for professionals, the designation of the earlier Division as 'administrative' rather than academic, thus cutting it off from research and curriculum development agenda, and the focus on fiscal rather than educational ends.

However, the underlying cause of this fragmentation was the failure to recognize continuing professional education as a field in its own right—different from liberal adult education, but equally valid and requiring the same kind of infrastructure to support good teaching and research. It remains to be seen whether the lessons from past history will be learned.

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5

Some Personal Recollections of the Early Years of the Department

Tom Caldwell

The Department was ten years old when I joined it. The letter I had from the Registrar told me that I had been appointed Lecturer (for work with Tutorial Classes). The University no longer used the title staff tutor but the view that Raybould had expressed in 1949 still prevailed—'tutors appointed to teach W.E.A. classes should be selected because of their special interest in and capacity for the teaching of adult students of the kind recruited by the WEA and they should not normally be used for other kinds of work'.[1] The initial expansion of the teaching staff came to an end in 1950 and in the following years there was a sharp drop in the number of tutorial classes. I replaced Eric Sudale who had left to become an HMI. Writing in 1951, Raybould had regretted that 'intra-mural departments did not regard the appointment of extramural tutors as their business in the same degree as the appointment of internal lecturers'.[2] The appointing committee was chaired by the Bishop of Ripon (chairman of the Joint Committee) but internal departments were strongly represented with the professor of Modern History, Asa Briggs, and Professor Clapton from the French Department. There were, however, special reasons for each of these to be concerned with an extramural appointment: Briggs was actively involved in the WEA and later became its national president; Clapton was chairman of the Extension Lectures Committee. For me it was a piece of good fortune, since my research interest was in the history of workers' education in France.

I already knew the Department and many of its staff well. When I decided in 1950 that I would like to work in adult education I talked to a number of people in the WEA and in the universities in Oxford, Cambridge, London and Leeds: I read, in addition to numerous annual reports, Raybould's *The*

W.E.A.: The next phase (1949) and his two pamphlets, *The Approach to W.E.A. Teaching* (1949) and *University Standards in W.E.A. Work* (1948). Of all those to whom I talked the ones who had impressed me most were Raybould and Fred Sedgwick. What I heard was later to become very familiar, but then it was new. Adult education was essential in a democratic society: the university had a vital role to play, but its contribution should be limited to work of university standard; such a standard was accessible to working people, with little formal education, through the university tutorial class; mature adults, who from their own experience had first-hand knowledge of the matters about which historians, philosophers, psychologists, political theorists and others had written, could make a valuable contribution to the study of human experience. Raybould put this across with passion and conviction.

Fred Sedgwick, gentle and modest, was no less impressive. Here was a tutorial class student, for whom education for social responsibility had meant service in the trade union movement and the WEA, who, recognizing the vital role of the university, saw that it needed to be linked with an organized, independent body of students. These ideas offered a challenge and an inspiration.

A vacancy occurred for a tutor-organizer in North Yorkshire. I applied and was interviewed by a WEA appointing committee with which the extramural department was closely associated. The chairman, Mary Johnson, was the wife of a staff tutor, the district treasurer, Hampson Baines, was a staff tutor, Raybould represented the Department, which clearly had a considerable interest in WEA appointments. He thoroughly approved of my interest in organizing classes in association with the agricultural workers' union. Baines, on the other hand, sardonically suggested that it would be more fruitful to enlist the help of the vicar and the doctor's wife in organizing village classes. This was the first I saw of the rivalry of these two schoolmaster Joint Committee tutors, of the same generation.

I was invited almost immediately to attend the Joint Committee summer school, held at Cottingham, where Raybould led a seminar for new tutors, Pat Duffy, Eric Sudale and myself. We discussed topics such as the syllabus, the book list, reading and written work, standards. Raybould did not distinguish between the work which I would be doing, in a WEA class, and what the new staff tutors would be doing in tutorial classes. He presented the

WEA class not as a soft option but as an experience which would give students an appetite for longer and more sustained courses of study. I did not, at the time, appreciate the irony of Raybould's expounding his views almost within hailing distance of the adult education department of the University College of Hull.

Once at work in the field I had support from the Department through a scheme under which two senior staff tutors, Bill Baker and Hampson Baines gave advice and guidance to new tutors working for the WEA. ('Senior' was an internal designation—there were no senior lecturers in the department until Edward Thompson was promoted after the publication of *The Making of the English Working Class*.) Raybould had persuaded the Ministry of Education to agree to their having a reduced teaching programme in order to provide this support for the WEA.

I was fortunate to be put under the wing of Bill Baker, a social historian, author of a study of the English village, a wise and kindly man, and a highly experienced tutor with a great reputation for work in rural areas. He had come to Leeds from Cambridge out of a desire to return to his native Yorkshire and to live in a magnificent stone house at Ebberston in the Vale of Pickering. Raybould had granted him the rare privilege of living outside the extramural area, in Hull territory. We met regularly throughout the winter. He visited my classes: I sat in on his and I learnt a great deal from him. He had worked with the agricultural workers' union in Norfolk and then in Yorkshire where the union organizer, Jack Brocklebank, was a strong supporter of the WEA. From our contacts in the union, and from members of WEA classes, Bill and I set up a tutorial class for agricultural workers, which met for eight weekends a year, over a period of three years, at Grantley Hall residential college.

I was in close touch with other members of the Department, particularly John Harrison and Percy Brookman, who lived near York, and Eric Sudale, who had moved to Middlesbrough. Eric was an economist and his main interest was in developing work with trade unionists in the steel industry. This, he told me, demanded a certain suppleness: it was no use asking them to join a tutorial class put on by the WEA branch, nor could you start off cold with a three-year course for steelworkers. Eric rarely went to Leeds. The steel industry worked on a three-shift system, so that classes were arranged to have the normal evening meeting, with a 'shift class' the following morning. This frequently clashed with departmental meetings so that more often than not he persuaded Raybould to come to Middlesbrough to discuss the programme, explaining to me that on his home ground, where he had worked as a staff tutor, the rigid rules were interpreted more flexibly.

In the early 1950s, Raybould and several staff tutors from the Department were regular attenders at meetings of the WEA District Council, contributing to the great debate on workers' education, social responsibility and the voluntary movement. To begin with, Raybould had hopes that the WEA would adopt the policies he had put forward in *The Next Phase*—recruit its students predominantly from the ranks of the 'educationally underprivileged', draw into membership men and women who were socially active, and put its main effort into organizing university tutorial classes. This did not happen and he would lambast the branches for failing to set up tutorial classes and make it clear to students that they were required to undertake regular sustained work, in the class and at home. He increasingly irritated and alienated branch activists, particularly when, with the fall in the number of tutorial classes, the Department began to promote a large programme of extension classes. Many WEA branches made great efforts to recruit students with little formal education, but the composition of most classes was a mixture, both educationally and socially. Raybould, who was a great debater and who loved clear categories, would even on occasion taunt the WEA for enrolling in its classes graduates and those who had had a secondary education, who 'ought' to have been in extension classes.

It was apparent that the Leeds Department, so recently created, was heir to a long tradition of adult education, centred on the tutorial class and the partnership between the university and the WEA, and that these matters were ordered differently in other parts of the country. In order to understand the Department one had to understand the old order which had preceded it.

Classes had been provided by the Joint Committee for Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes. It was an advisory committee of the University Council made up of representatives of the universities, local education authorities and the WEA. It had three joint secretaries: the Registrar, an officer of the LEA and the district secretary of the WEA. The last, from 1914 to 1923 and from 1929 to 1945, was the legendary George Thompson.[1] The committee's programme consisted mainly of tutorial classes, on which the University received a grant from the Board of Education: part-time and full-time tutors were employed. In 1924/25 there were six staff tutors, four of whom devoted part of their time to intramural work. Over the next twenty years the number doubled.

For the Registrar and the LEA secretary this was one committee amongst many and by no means the most important. For George Thompson and the WEA it was the prime committee, the instrument through which the University made its contribution to workers' education. The committee responded to a programme of tutorial classes put forward by the WEA. Thompson, it was said, told 'his' tutors 'the University pays you, but you work for me'. Part-time tutors came not only from the staff of the University but from outside. Raybould wrote in 1954 about the employment of many tutors whose everyday work was not university teaching, and he argued that such persons should not be employed unless they possessed qualities of scholarship and first-hand knowledge similar to those of full-time university staff. Had such criteria been applied by the joint committee in the 1930s adult education might have been deprived of one of its most illustrious professors.

Thompson encouraged some of the most successful part-time tutors to devote themselves full-time to tutorial class teaching. Some, like Raybould, became staff tutors. Others became 'full-time non-staff' tutors, employed by the Joint Committee on the understanding that they would have a full programme of tutorial classes and some summer school teaching and be paid the appropriate part-time rates. For some it was an attractive proposition—to work not for an employer but for a movement, to teach from Michaelmas to Easter and then to be free except for the summer school. Fees for part-time teaching were much higher in relation to salaries then than they were later. Margaret Cole, writing about the 1920s, says that she and her husband were paid £80 per class *per annum* by the Oxford and London joint committees.[5] So five classes and some summer-school teaching would have produced a modest but comfortable income, a little more than the salary of a Member of Parliament. (I was appointed as a tutor-organizer in 1950, one rung up the ladder at an annual salary of £425.) Of course, there was no security, no sick pay and no pension. Later, the WEA was able to appoint its own full-time tutor-organizers and Thompson saw these young graduates as strong candidates for appointment as staff tutors, once they had demonstrated their ability to teach adults and their commitment to the movement. James Cameron, a philosophy graduate from Oxford, came to work in east Yorkshire: he was berated by Thompson when he took a job at Vaughan College in Leicester instead of waiting to be slotted in to a staff tutorship at Leeds. His offence was compounded by going to an area not committed to the rigorous puritanical tradition of workers' education in Yorkshire. Subsequently, he came back to Leeds on a joint appointment with the Department of Philosophy.

The newly-founded University College of Hull had a Department of Adult Education in 1928. It was one of the largest departments in a small struggling institution, which needed to make itself known in the region and attract funds and students. Adult education showed the flag and although the department did co-operate with the WEA in providing tutorial classes these formed only a small part of a programme which included long and short courses. In north and east Yorkshire, the WEA found its own classes in competition with those put on by Hull, which had the added cachet of being 'university' classes. Outside Hull the main centres of population were on the fringe of an ill-defined extramural area. In Middlesbrough and Teesside, around Selby and Goole and in the city of York, Hull came into conflict with Leeds and was seen as damaging the tutorial class by offering shorter and less demanding courses. Raybould, as a part-time tutor, was one of those who tried to defend the frontier.

The issues were not always clear cut. Harking back to his own days in the Hull department, Richard Hoggart observes wryly that 'one of Raybould's tutors, a solemn and conscientious man [Albert Johnson?], complained to him not that I was trying to establish more classes than were agreed but that my one class [in Middlesbrough] was so successful as to pose a possible threat'.

The WEA was understandably apprehensive when the post-war plan of the University of Leeds proposed the creation of a Department of Extra-Mural Studies, though the position was eased somewhat by the retirement of George Thompson and the appointment of Fred Sedgwick who was new to the district. The staff of the Joint Committee welcomed the setting up of a department which would give them a place in the University and conditions of employment comparable to those of their internal colleagues. They could only rejoice at the prospect of being no longer subject to the direction of the WEA district secretary, but at the same time they were, for the most part, anxious to maintain the traditional character of the work. The only sure way of achieving that was to have a head of department drawn from their own ranks. According to James Cameron, they decided on a single Leeds candidate—Raybould—although some arm-twisting was needed to discourage rival candidates from applying.

The head of the new Department was a man who 'acknowledged [his] lasting indebtedness to George Thompson … from whom and from whose work between 1929 and 1945' he had, as he later said, 'learnt a great deal about the purposes and possibilities of the W.E.A.'[7]

The Department was set up—new staff were appointed, many of them went on to distinguished academic careers. One of them—John Harrison who became professor of History in the University of Sussex—has described what it was like:

> There was a continuous flow of memoranda and meetings in which every aspect of the work was argued and discussed, providing an excellent introduction to the problems of adult education for the many young tutors who had but recently come into the work. A general air of enthusiasm prevailed and there was a strong sense of participating in an exciting new venture. Morale was high in the Department and the staff combined academic excellence with a sense of vocation for adult education.[8]

The staff included tutors from the old Joint Committee. To some of them legends were attached of progress from the shop floor, by way of the tutorial class and a university degree to a staff tutorship. Albert Johnson was said to have been a shoe repairer, Charlie Johnson to have worked in the tailoring trade, Vincent Bellamy to have been a university laboratory assistant.

The Department benefited enormously from the support of a new vice-chancellor who arrived in 1948. Charles Morris was not just sympathetic to adult education, he also knew it well from the inside. He was a philosopher, who, until the war took him into the civil service, had been a fellow of Balliol. The Master, A. D. Lindsay, had been chairman of the Oxford committee for tutorial classes and vice-president of the WEA. Charles Morris served on the extramural delegacy and took a tutorial class in Banbury. (I believe that Frank Jacques, later secretary of the WEA Eastern District, was a member of that class. I do not know whether Raybould would have approved of a philosopher—with a first in Greats—taking a class in International Relations.)

Mary Morris, his wife, had spent several years doing voluntary social work in North Staffordshire and had many friends amongst the Oxford tutors and in the WEA.

Other vice-chancellors at Leeds gave their backing to adult education. Michael Sadler became president of the Leeds WEA branch in 1911 and though he parted company over the municipal strike in 1913 he remained sympathetic.[9] Edward Boyle demonstrated his attachment to adult education when he chose personally to present Fred Sedgwick for the award of an honorary degree in 1973; and Richard Taylor's inaugural lecture in 1993 tells us that 'his own enthusiasm for a well-founded and dedicated continuing education Department is shared by the Vice-Chancellor' (Alan Wilson).

In one very important respect the Extra-Mural Department was different from all other departments of the University. The funding for its core work came directly from the Ministry of Education and was related specifically to teaching. Richard Hoggart tells a revealing story about being with Raybould at Lake Louise in the Canadian Rockies and how, brushing aside talk about the magnificent scenery, he turned to essentials—'Yes Richard. Now Section 3/4 of the new Regulations'.[10] This illustrates Raybould's total concern, almost obsession, with adult education, but it also reminds us how central to the welfare of the Department was the ministry grant and the regulations governing it.

I recall another example of Raybould's total concern. In the early 1950s there was a BBC radio programme broadcast live from Manchester—the Fifty-One Society. A panel of regulars—academics, businessmen, trade unionists, journalists, artists and writers—discussed some question of topical interest. Members could invite guests and on one occasion, when the topic was the place of women in society, Raybould invited a young woman to go as his guest. The BBC provided a car for their hazardous journey over the Pennines. On the way he explained that the trouble with the society was that people did not discuss the question—they just used it as an opportunity to ride their own hobby horse. When the time came for Raybould to intervene he came out with a powerful plea for adult education in general and the university tutorial class in particular. On the way back to Leeds she said 'Well, Professor Raybould, what about the hobby horses?' He did not appreciate the remark at all—adult education could never be a hobby horse.

The eyes and ears of the Ministry were Her (or His) Majesty's Inspectors.

They received copies of the syllabuses of all classes in the grant-aided programme. Some of the old Joint Committee tutors gave the impression that the HMI had subjected their syllabuses to an academic scrutiny, to see whether the tutor had a thorough knowledge and grasp of his subject. I never saw any evidence of this; their concern was to make sure that the course fell within the area defined by the grant-aid regulations as liberal adult education. Classes might be visited by HMI and on occasion particular areas of the Department's work—the teaching of social studies, the work of a centre—were examined by a team of inspectors.

At best, they had a concern and sympathetic understanding of what the Department was trying to do, especially in innovative projects, such as the Pioneer Work programme of work with unemployed people in the 1980s, and a willingness to look at ways in which it might be accommodated within the regulations. They could provide a valuable sounding board and because they oversaw other branches of the educational service, they did something to break down the potential isolation of university adult education.

Until the 1970s, one of the chief characteristics of the Department was its disparity. As new work developed its activities were compartmentalized, with little connection between them except for reports to staff meetings. Even within the liberal studies area the Joint Committee programme was administered separately from the Extension programme and although the title was obsolete for many of the staff, the distinction between staff tutor and extension lecturer remained. Completely new areas of work were undertaken, with separate funding and staffing. The Nuffield Centre for Health Service Studies, social work courses, courses with the police and the prison service came to form a major part of the Department's work. In some cases this led to conflicts within the University about whether such work was appropriately undertaken by a department of adult education.

There was also, for a period, a large contribution to Services education. In 1948 the War Office asked university extramural departments to coordinate schemes for civilian aid to services education, and Leeds, whose area included Catterick Camp in North Yorkshire, one of the army's main training centres, became a major contributor.

The work was entirely financed by the War Office, with an annual grant, and it was provided through the Services Education Committee made up of representatives of the University, the army, the LEAs and the WEA. Work was shared with the WEA, with the Department doing work of 'university standard' and the WEA work at a lower level. It was a distinction not always easy to make, since it was almost impossible to arrange long courses and not easy to separate military personnel into the educationally privileged and underprivileged. Both bodies appointed full-time staff. The Department had eleven services lecturers who taught subjects which included mathematics, physics, modern languages and international relations. Most of the work was done at Catterick. Many of the lecturers were seldom seen at Leeds and when they appeared annually at the staff conference it was not always easy for those engaged in traditional extramural work to remember who they were. With the ending of National Service the demand for this kind of civilian aid was very much reduced. Most of the lecturers took jobs elsewhere but some were absorbed into the Department or other parts of the University. The scheme continued until the early 1970s.

Alan de Rusett, whose subject was international relations, acquired a great reputation with the army when, in a lecture to senior officers, he directed their attention to the Korean peninsula as a potential trouble spot some months before the Chinese invasion. He became an extension lecturer and warden of the Albert Mansbridge College. Jim MacGregor moved into university administration where he was immensely successful, eventually becoming Registrar; departmental administration needed attention, but Raybould either failed to recognize his potential or did not have the resources to use it. The last of the services lecturers were Graham Ross, who subsequently joined the School of History, and Steve Bartle who came to teach Roman history and archaeology in the liberal studies programme.

There was one move the other way. Percy Brookman had been appointed by the Joint Committee as an Article XI tutor, with some responsibility for organizing. His subject was economics which was popular at the time but out of fashion twenty years later. When a vacancy occurred he was appointed secretary of the Services Education Committee.

From the army came Stanley (Colonel) Virgo, who had had a long military career in army education and intelligence. He could reminisce about the role of the army in the General Strike in 1926 and Churchill and Stalin in Moscow in 1943. He was appointed to the newly instituted post of departmental secretary. He had done a lot of teaching in the army and was particularly skilful at teaching what came to be known as communication.

There was a demand from students on the miners' day release course for a specific component to develop skills in reading, writing and self-expression and Stanley Virgo contributed to the course as a part-time tutor. This became an important part of the industrial studies programme and although he did not have any academic qualifications of the conventional kind, he was appointed as a lecturer in communication. Percy Brookman, having proved to be a careful and conscientious administrator, returned to take over as departmental secretary.

The compartmentalization of the Department's activities was reflected in its accommodation, which was scattered over the university campus. The Department was originally housed in a terrace which backed on to University Road, later the site of the new Arts Building. It accommodated the head of department along with some administrative and clerical staff and the departmental library. It provided rather cramped accommodation for departmental meetings.

At Arthington in Wharfedale there was a residential college in embryo, named after Albert Mansbridge. John Melling, who became assistant director, had been designated as warden and lived there for a time in some discomfort after thieves stole lead from the roof.

When the Nuffield Centre for Health Service Studies was set up in the Department, money became available to adapt Woodsley Hall in Clarendon Road as a centre for residential courses. New buildings were added to provide a library and a warden's house. It was renamed Albert Mansbridge College. As well as the staff of the Nuffield Centre, it housed the head of department, and the extramural library and provided lecture rooms and seminar rooms, which were shared with the Nuffield Centre. The liberal studies section was across the road in Hyde Terrace and applied social studies some way away in Lyddon Terrace.

A lot of discussion went on in staff meetings about the unsatisfactory accommodation, with little hope that anything would be done since adult education ranked low in the University's building plan. John Saunders produced a detailed statement setting out a utopian view of what accommodation a university department of adult education ought to have. It seemed a quixotic enterprise. Not until 1976, when the whole Department moved into its present, magnificent, accommodation in Springfield Mount, was the problem resolved.

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5 Margaret Cole, *The Life of G. D. H. Cole* (Macmillan, 1971), 109.

6 Richard Hoggart, *A Sort of Clowning: Life and times 1940–1959* (Chatto and Windus, 1990), 113.

7 Raybould, *The W.E.A.: The next phase*, Preface, v.

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6

The Department 1969–1982

Norman Jepson

> The conservative side of me wishes to retain much of the past, particularly university adult education as a reflection of genuine university work. The radical side of me wants to question whether we are sufficiently sensitive to new needs and sufficiently flexible to experiment in new ways to meet them.
>
> Norman Jepson, Inaugural Lecture 1972

The Divisional Structure

The years 1969 to 1982 spanned the period in which the Department was organized on a divisional basis—Liberal Studies, Special Courses, Adult Education and Applied Social Studies. This structure was a legacy from the final year of Professor Raybould's tenure as head of department. Whilst it was a University decision to introduce such a structure following his retirement, it reflected Raybould's intense concern about the future—about the safeguarding of the traditional values of the Department for which he had fought so valiantly and about, at the same time, identifying the areas of potential growth and providing the most appropriate framework for development. In this chapter an attempt will be made to select a central theme from each of the divisions and then a few examples of ventures which gave the Department its character during these years.

Liberal Studies Division. Standards: the fight to retain the supremacy of the sustained courses

The new structure brought under the one umbrella of the Liberal Studies Division the work of the Joint (WEA–University) Tutorial Classes Committee with its historical concern about involving working-class students, its emphasis upon non-vocational studies and its continued preoccupation with 'social purpose', and that of the Extension Lectures Committee, aimed predominantly at the more educationally sophisticated students, some of whom sought academic qualifications and some of whom were attracted for vocational reasons. Subsequently, the attempt to rationalize priorities in these different areas resulted in the two committees amalgamating. The extent to which and the manner in which priorities were or were not rationalized are dealt with in other sections. One concern common to both types of work, however, was that of maintaining a standard of student work appropriate to a university—a question which, as Roy Shaw has indicated in his chapter, haunted the Department from the outset and one in which university standards and the sustained course tended to be treated as though they were interchangeable terms. Given that the aim of the Division was to maintain the centrality of its longer courses, and that this aim was restated in the submission to the 1978 University Review Group, the Division could claim that at least it had, volume-wise, achieved its objective. The 1981 figures, for example, showed more than 150 longer courses attended by over 2,000 students, fairly evenly split between joint tutorial and extension students—very similar to those of a decade previously.

But the period under review was one in which this stance was being challenged or/and threatened from a number of different sources. The reports of the Universities Council for Adult Education, in which, incidentally, the Department had an active involvement, recorded the continued isolation of Leeds in respect of most other departments' expanding programmes of shorter courses. Within the Department itself, not every member of staff was satisfied that the priority given to working-class students and their special needs was justified, bearing in mind the changed social structure of post-war society and given the actual take-up of this educational opportunity. Also, for some who felt strongly about the educational needs of women, the unemployed and ethnic minorities, the emphasis upon sustained courses was not necessarily the most appropriate strategy, particularly given the possibilities of a modular course structure. Meanwhile, within the University the group reviewing the work of the Department was recommending a relaxation of the emphasis upon the longer courses and the Registry was involved with the DES in discussing the possibilities of financing liberal adult education on a 'student hour' basis, which would place the sustained courses at a disadvantage to the shorter courses with a higher student involvement and lower student wastage.

Given these pressures, the record of the Division in respect of the sustained course was very good, but underlying all this was the reminder that the sustained course was, or should be, seen as a means towards an end, not an end in itself, and should be directed at the specific needs of a specific group or groups. What of groups of already highly-qualified students and what of the future balance of the Department's work, particularly with the growth of the short-course programmes organized by the Special Courses Division?

Special Courses Division. A partnership with internal departments

In some respects the work of the Special Courses Division was the obverse of that of the Liberal Studies Division. It was essentially an administrative division which encouraged and supported internal departments in the University to become involved or develop their involvement in continued education, by providing short specialist courses/seminars/conferences, often in conjunction with industrial or professional organizations. Academic responsibilities remained with the internal department. The student clientele consisted usually of graduates or highly experienced and qualified personnel, a characteristic reinforced by the relatively high fees which were charged, because, unlike Liberal Studies, Special Courses received little subsidy, and what it did receive was from UGC rather than DES monies. Given that it inherited little provision prior to the Divisional structure, progress in this field was very impressive. Indeed, it placed Leeds University both nationally and internationally in the forefront of 'continued' educational provision. Moreover, it stimulated basic thinking about the role of universities in 'continued' education.

Thus it was a reflection of the progress of the Leeds University's Special Courses Division in the 1970s that by the end of the decade it was able to report:

> the number of students increased from 237 in 1968/9, the year before the Division was established, to 1,992 in the 1978/9 session ... [and] a different type of student has been attracted to the University through the Extramural Department ... In fact, 64 departments out of the 80 in the University have co-operated with the Department in offering courses, symposia, seminars and conferences.[1]

This progress reflected the conviction that, if education is a continuous and lifelong process constantly challenged by expanding knowledge and changing situations, quaternary/continuing education should be the concern of the whole university. Behind this approach however, lay a dual challenge—having laid the foundations, how to develop this type of continued educational provision so that it becomes an integral part of university education, rather than peripheral: and what, if any, should be the future role of a specialist adult education department? As the chairman of the UCAE posed the question at the very beginning of the decade:

> If the whole of the University is to be seen as part of the educational and social process, comparable, mutatis mutandis, with the nursery school, then doesn't the role of the adult education department change? No longer is it the main public face of the University - all of the University now faces towards society and other educational institutions.[2]

Adult Education Division. Relevance: an academic or professional emphasis

Four years after the establishment of the divisional structure, it was recorded that the pattern of the Adult Education Division work 'would seem to be the provision of diploma courses, higher degree supervision, short courses on particular problems for already experienced people, consultancy work and tutor support'.[3] The progress in each of these areas, together with that of research and publication, is dealt with in detail by Stuart Marriott in Chapter 14 and Miriam Zukas in Chapter 15. Here, the establishment of diploma courses is highlighted, partly because it marked a significant departure from adult education provision in the Raybouldian era, which was deliberately focused upon research rather than teaching, and partly because it underlines certain problems and challenges which faced the Department as a whole.

It was quite a major achievement of the Adult Education Division in the 1970s that it did establish a two year part-time diploma course on adult education, directed primarily at adult and further education teachers and administrators but also at professions, such as the clergy, which were concerned with wider issues of communication and education. It did raise, however, a fundamental issue as the Department responded more and more to the needs and demands of professional and vocational groups. The question was posed as to whether the diploma course 'does and should aim to be a professional training course or alternatively, the study of an academic discipline, called adult education, albeit at present a secondary discipline heavily reliant upon primary disciplines such as psychology and sociology'.

The response was that

> The claim of the Department is that it is the latter, and that the course contains no element of supervised practice, although many of the students are practising. Indeed, it may be argued that many joined the course because they regarded it as a form of professional training and the diploma as a professional award, despite assertions of the Department to the contrary.[8]

This stance was taken, perhaps, for two main reasons. Firstly, it would sit more easily in a department the historical roots of which were in non-vocational adult education but which was grappling, in several areas of its work, with the question as to whether the demands of relevance, from a professional training point of view, would impose too restrictive a boundary on the student's study.

The second reason was financial. Whether by accident or design, but certainly with the help of the HMI, the DES agreed to the diploma work coming under the Adult Education provisions of the *Further Education Grant Regulations*, which sought overall to reserve support to non-vocational courses. Had the diploma course veered more towards professional training, it is doubtful whether the DES would have supported it financially, despite the fact that it was stressing the importance of professional training courses for teachers in the overall field of adult and further education. It was part of the struggle throughout the period of testing the boundaries imposed by the DES regulations. In the case of Adult Education, the boundaries were henceforth vigorously imposed and hampered the development of a more comprehensive programme of higher degree work.

Applied Social Studies Division. Involvement in professional training

The changing fortunes of Applied Social Studies are graphically described by Mike Stein in a later chapter. Certain aspects may, however, be underlined in this section, particularly those that affected overall departmental policy.

The first five years of the Division saw a substantial achievement of the goals that it had set itself at the outset. It had integrated the non-graduate Probation and Child-Care courses into a single two-year course leading to the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW) award and based on the principle of the generic social worker, heralded by the Seebohm Report; established formally, with the Department of Psychiatry, a one-year postgraduate diploma course which also led to the CQSW; introduced an academic course in Applied Social Studies leading to a Master's degree; helped in the organization of a range of shorter post-experience courses; and secured external funding for substantial research projects.

Important in their own right—the CQSW courses accounted for some eighty full-time students each year and a correspondingly large staff—their wider significance was that they took the Department beyond the boundaries of the Adult Education diploma and fully into the professional field. Originally, the Department's involvement in both Prison and Probation work had been justified on the grounds that academic disciplines, taught by university staff, could be kept distinct from practice and that the special skills of the adult educator would be called upon to meet the needs of the older, more experienced students recruited to those courses. Especially with the emergence of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW) and the institution of the CQSW professional qualification, practice and theory became more integrated and as a result the Department became more committed to the full professional process. Within the Department there was now a span of courses from the non-vocational, non-examinable, part-time joint tutorial classes at one extreme, to the vocational, professional, examinable, full-time CQSW courses at the other. Was this too wide a span for a single department to manage and still retain its cohesion?

From the outset of the divisional structure, it was accepted that the changes outlined above might, or should, lead to the setting up of an independent Applied Social Studies Department, and in 1973 a proposal was submitted to the University by the Department for the establishment of an independent Institute of Social Work and Applied Social Studies. For a number of reasons, academic and political, this proposal was turned down, generating considerable frustration among staff. The University, however, agreed to the foundation of a Centre for Social Work and Applied Social Studies which did some extremely interesting work. It did much to improve the relationship between field-work supervisors and university staff, to expand research and publish 'Occasional Papers' and to help found and support, training-wise, projects such as the Conciliation Service. But it was a watered-down version of the proposed Institute, with no additional funds and a reliance upon the considerable extra commitment of the divisional staff. As Mike Stein argues in his chapter, the rejection of the proposed

Institute may well be seen as the turning point in the fortunes of the Applied Social Studies Division.

Meanwhile, however, other clouds were in the sky. Some were financial—the removal of the ear-marked grant which hitherto had financed and protected the professional courses, and the freezing of posts arising from the monetary crisis facing the universities. Others were academic and professional including, most significantly, the responses which the Division had to make training-wise to the quite drastic changes in the theories and practices of social work. The initial changes in the postgraduate course syllabus were criticized by both the University and CCETSW on the grounds that the course now lacked a unifying and integrative framework. The revised syllabus proved acceptable but the scars of the experience remained.

In the face of these problems, and despite a strong rearguard action by the Department, supported by external agencies, the Division's core work, its CQSW courses, was ultimately abandoned, as was the Division itself. It was a time of sadness and anger but also a renewed challenge as to whether a Department of Adult and Continuing Education could identify an appropriate area of work which would meet the changing needs of the social work and criminal justice fields in a manner consistent with the overall aims of the Department and the University.

Gateway to the Community

One of the measures that may be used to examine the work of a Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies is the extent to which it is able to identify needs and demands within the community which are likely to be met by adult education. Given limited space, a few issues have been selected, partly because they are important in their own right, but primarily because they illustrate more generally some of the challenges, and strategies, involved in the relationship between the Department and the community in the 1970s.

University Adult Education Centres

In the early years of the period under review, a Board of Extramural Studies Committee re-emphasized the importance of the two non-residential Centres, at Bradford and Middlesbrough, as 'a focus for cultural activities within the area, affording opportunities for a wide range of educational activities and for organisations as well as individuals, to identify with the extramural aims of the University'.[5]

During the 1970s the work of the centres expanded and diversified, as did that of the Department as a whole. Two features may, however, be singled out in this particular review: firstly, the significant links which both centres established with organizations within the community. Middlesbrough could already boast that the Centre 'makes its facilities available to 29 affiliated societies [including] for example the British Association of Social Workers, the Civic Society, the Historical Association, Poetry 20 Plus Group, the Yorkshire Geology Society'.[6]

Bradford followed suit in the 1970s but here the emphasis was on 'social concern' organizations. In the early 1970s links were established with 'besides academic organisations, social concern organisations like Shelter and Age Concern and working-class organisations such as Tenants' and Community Associations'.[7] Later 'the Centre also provided accommodation for informal seminar groups such as the Ethnic Minority Group Workshop and the West Yorkshire Region of the European Nuclear Disarmament Group, as well as having thirteen affiliated societies'.[8]

The work at Bradford in particular reflected the contemporary concern about disadvantaged minorities in the community and it contributed a Centre culture within which community education such as the New Opportunities for Women programme of courses could develop. The significance of the immediate environment of courses aimed at particular groups in the community was increasingly clearly recognized.

The second feature of the period was the establishment of a third centre—in Leeds. Indeed, one of the landmarks of the period was the purchase by Leeds University of the Hostel of the Resurrection—a neo-Gothic style 'listed' building, situated within the campus boundaries—and its allocation to the Department as the University of Leeds Adult Education Centre. A building of considerable beauty, enhanced internally by the skill of the University's planning officer, it reflected the commitment of the University and its Vice-Chancellor to university adult education. Bringing together staff and students who previously had been scattered over the campus, it helped to integrate the Department with a divisional structure. It was officially opened in 1977 on the University Open Day, symbolic of the role the Department played in University–community relations. Equally significant was that it came into being partly as the response of the Department and the University to the Russell Committee's report on the future of adult education, but also as a result of pressure exerted by both staff and student groups. It was a feature of the period that the Department encouraged student involvement in departmental affairs, two noticeable enterprises being the student newspaper, *Extra*, and the students' successful lobbying to secure access to the University Library.

There were now three gateways to the community!

Access to higher education

One of the long-standing concerns of university adult education has been improving the access of mature students to higher education. This concern was underlined by two important events during the period. The first was the establishment of the Open University, which offered the opportunity for adults without formal qualifications to participate in distance learning which could lead to a degree. The Leeds Department, which had a close relationship with the OU in the early 1970s, responded to the new development by negotiating an agreement by which adult students obtaining the Leeds University Extension Certificate could gain exemption from module(s) in the OU programme—a portent of much wider future developments in the interchange of academic awards and in providing alternative routes to and within higher education.

The second event was the publication of a DES discussion document *Higher Education in the 1980s*. In commenting on the different models of possible developments as outlined in the document, the Department welcomed, amongst other things, 'The concern which is expressed ... about the relative inequality of opportunities for higher education, particularly among the children of manual workers and in respect of university education among women. The Department recognises that adult education could have a significant contribution to make in this respect.'[9]

This concern found immediate expression in the Department taking an important role in bringing together adult education agencies in the community and devising the AIMS scheme which would 'enable mature students to undertake courses of further and higher education, which could lead to full-time or part-time degree courses at universities and other institutions of higher education'.[10] However, after prolonged discussion, the Department's participation in the scheme was vetoed by the University. Many factors were involved in this [illegible] disappointing outcome, not least the inadequate political strength of the Department in the University at that time. But it was an example of the understandable tension between the needs of the community as identified by the Department and the views of the University about what was appropriate university adult education:

> The fundamental points at issue appear to have been the question of whether an alternative route to higher education, in addition to 'A' level courses and the prevailing mature matriculation scheme was needed, and the further question of whether university resources should be used for courses which in one sense were pre-university courses ...[11]

The time was clearly not ripe for this kind of venture nor for the introduction of a comprehensive programme of part-time degree courses.

Local Broadcasting

Reference has already been made to the importance of the establishment of the Open University and the development of distance learning. Side by side with these might be placed the potential for adult education in the emergence of local broadcasting. Under the overall guidance of the Adult Education Division, programmes of talks were arranged with both the Leeds and Teesside BBC local radio stations. One of the initial aims of these was to convey to a wider public information about research taking place in internal departments of the University. In the first year of the divisional structure 'nine series of talks, normally consisting of six weekly broadcasts and recorded by members of internal departments, were arranged in conjunction with Radio Leeds in 1969–70'.[12]

A second aim was to deal with issues of wide public interest, for example: 'On Sport, five programmes of twenty minutes' duration were put together: on Crowd Behaviour [2] ... Sport and Medicine, Women in Sport and the Psychology of Sport, the contributors being ... [academics] ... a police superintendent and a medical doctor.'[13]

A third aim was to promote discussion on community matters. One particularly challenging venture of this kind arose in part from the DES funding a research assistant whose work led to a Leeds local radio programme on 'What happened to Hunslet?'—a study of the problems created for the community by the building of the city's road-links to the northern terminus of the M1 motorway, and a subsequent discussion with local residents.

These were interesting responses to changes in both information technology and community affairs. There were, however, question marks about the local broadcasting venture generally: was the considerable amount of time spent in preparation and presentation justified in terms of educational impact? Was a series of talks educational in its own right or should it aim to lead on to more sustained and demanding educational provision? And, how do you measure effectiveness in this field?

In this context, attempts were made to follow up a series of local radio talks with a face-to-face series of seminars, but overall the response was disappointing. More encouraging, however, was a project promoted by the Northern Open Learning Group on which the Department was represented. Viewers of the ITV four-part drama series on 'Disraeli' were provided with the opportunity to request further reading material and this prompted nearly three thousand replies from the Yorkshire region asking for the package, plus requests from three hundred schools. It was estimated that 0.3 per cent of the viewing audience wrote in, 'an indication that a very small percentage of viewers can produce a large number of people who wish to "study" a subject further'.[14]

The decade ended with considerable uncertainty about this form of adult education venture, but it represented an important attempt to explore the potential of co-operation with this branch of the media.

Community Education

One of the Department's perhaps over-ambitious proposals included in its response to the Russell Report was the establishment of a Centre for Community Studies. The idea of a Centre never got off the ground, but it reflected a belief in the Department that all the Divisions had a contribution to make in seeking to meet the educational need of disadvantaged groups within the community, to explore issues which were of immediate concern to the community and at least help in the thinking of groups which wished to exercise more influence within their community. The Adult Education Division, for example, experimented with a course designed to help clergy to research their parish or neighbourhood. The Special Courses Division helped promote courses based on research into such problem areas as the future of public transport in urban and rural areas. Perhaps, however, the main contributions were from the Applied Social Studies and Liberal Studies Divisions. In both Divisions, lecturers in community education were appointed. In the case of the former, the appointment reflected the changing role of the social worker away from being exclusively a case-worker to one with multiple strategies including that of helping to empower the disadvantaged to promote an improved environment. With the collapse of the Applied Social Studies work, the lecturer was transferred to work primarily with the unemployed as part of a comprehensive programme of innovative courses. (See Chapter 3.)

Liberal Studies, meanwhile, shared with Applied Social Studies a concern for the handicapped, organizing, for example, joint events to commemorate the 'International Year of the Handicapped' and Liberal Studies itself organized highly successful residential courses for the blind. But in the period under review, of most significance was probably the appointment of a lecturer in community education in the Liberal Studies Division, and the development of the NOW (New Opportunities for Women) scheme. This is dealt with in greater detail in other chapters, but here attention may be directed to certain aspects of the scheme which affected the Department as a whole.

Firstly, the lecturer was a woman and that in itself reflected the positive aim of the Department to increase the number of women occupying key posts within it. Secondly, it was introduced initially in the Bradford Centre within an established culture in respect of social concern and disadvantaged groups. But it was also recognized that for some women the Centre would be too remote geographically and educationally and that more informal courses would need to be organized in the women's own environment, a reminder of the wider significance of the importance of relating course structure and location to student experience. Thirdly, whilst the course was to include basic sessions devoted to particular subjects such as psychology, social administration and literature, ones specifically on 'women and society' were pioneered and, most importantly, the opportunity was provided for the students to be counselled not only on educational matters, but also on issues such as employment prospects. Finally, there was also provision for the systematic exploration (research) by students of community issues, such as housing, so that they could influence the state of their own community.

Within the period under review, the scheme was extended to Leeds and

Middlesbrough. It was, and is, an exciting venture, but also one faced with important questions. One key issue was whether the stance, as articulated by one lecturer in community affairs, was valid. There was, he claimed, a distinction between 'bodies whose primary task is to act and those whose task is to think: and we thought of our role as that of a catalyst seeking to produce information and ideas upon which others might act'.[15]

Industrial Studies (versus *Archaeology*)

Industrial studies, too, has its special section in this book and consequently only brief reference needs to be made to its rapid expansion of sustained courses in the 1970s; the introduction of certificated courses in Trade Union Studies; the organization of regular lunch-time seminars at which local trade union leaders and academics met and exchanged views; and the publication, in association with Nottingham University, of *Occasional Papers in Industrial Studies*. It is introduced here, however, partly because it is an excellent example of how the Department responded to outside trends, in this case the challenge facing the trade unions during a turbulent decade ushered in by the Labour government's *In Place of Strife* and ushered out by the beginning of the Conservative government's onslaught on trade unions under Mrs Thatcher.

But the other reason for including it here is because there arose a problem of filling a vacant post at a time of severe financial constraints which illustrates more general problems facing the Department towards the end of the period. The expansion of industrial studies courses and particularly the need for a lecturer in industrial law, because of the increasing complexity arising from new legislation and court decisions, led to a request (demand!) that a vacancy created by the retirement of a departmental lecturer in archaeology should be filled by an industrial law specialist. Needless to say, the archaeologists, whose work had developed so significantly over the past decade and was held in high regard by university departments of archaeology, resisted this move. The conflict between the industrial studies and archaeology interests was ultimately settled in favour of the former, although not without considerable debate and heat. It was an important case for several reasons—in times when expansion was out of the question, priorities had to be more clearly defined; it also represented a wider challenge about the balance in the overall Department as between role education and academic subjects; additionally, it reflected the acute division within the Department's staff about the nature of the constraints imposed in role education with its political undertones, as compared with traditional academic subjects, and about the whole question of the legitimacy of claims to objectivity in the treatment of any subject. Finally, it was a reminder that decisions of this kind had ramifications in terms of the relationship between the Department and the rest of the University: this particular decision lost the Department not a few friends.

Good-bye 'Extramural'

The period of the divisional structure seemed, at least to those involved, to be one in which the Department was never free from reviews carried out by University committees whether these were in respect of the Department as a whole, or Applied Social Studies or non-residential centres. To some extent this may have been a reflection that the Department, with its Board of Extramural Studies responsible directly to Senate, was not in the mainstream of the University constitution with its Faculties and Faculty Boards.

At one of the annual conferences held to review the work of the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, the issue was raised as to whether a department of adult education and extramural studies could best achieve its objectives by being in the mainstream of university work or by being on the periphery. What is clear in retrospect is that during this period there was a significant shift from the latter to the former position. This was in no small measure due to the developments within the divisional structure. The introduction of diploma and subsequently mastership courses brought the Applied Social Studies and the Adult Education Divisions more within the orbit of the relevant Faculties. The Special Courses Division, based on providing administrative support to internal departments, left the question of academic standards to the individual internal departments. Other courses, particularly those of the Liberal Studies Division, remained for the time being the responsibility of the Board of Extramural Studies and its Classes and Courses sub-committee—that is, until the report of the University Group on the Department in 1981.

It was perhaps symptomatic of the movement of the Department to a more central position in the University that the report which appeared in 1981 recommended that the 'Extramural' part of its title be dropped.

Furthermore it saw the Department as being too isolated from the rest of the University and consequently it stressed the need for the Department to be integrated more closely into the University faculty system, with a result that

> Its [Liberal Studies] courses—at least those over a particular duration—will in future be approved by the Board of the Faculty of Education via the Board's Courses Committee ... At the same time the existing Board of Extramural Studies and the Joint Committee for Extension Lectures and Tutorial Classes will be replaced by an Adult and Continuing Education Committee which will be responsible to the Board of the Faculty of Education for the overall Departmental programme and which will have representations on it from the WEA and other outside bodies as well as university members.[10]

It was good-bye, too, to the divisional structure which had been operating over the previous thirteen years. Perhaps it had had a fair innings and there was need for change. It had been a period of expansion and diversification, and of attempts to respond to external change. But the review committee considered that there was need for a more integrated departmental programme which could be best achieved if the divisional structure was dismantled and a new structure introduced which would facilitate more interaction between one type of work and another and between the personnel responsible for these different areas.

It is left to others to take up the evolving history of adult continuing education in the University of Leeds and to assess, in the long term, the significance of the divisional structure.

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7

Insider Outsiders: Part-Time Tutors' Perspectives

The Russian Classes

Colin Johnson

A browse through the Department's annual reports is highly recommended for the human and historical interest it discloses. And where I have been able to check the information in the reports against my own memory it appears to be accurate. I am also indebted to Diane Jacks for her help in tracking the past. I am considering here not the Department's provision of language classes, which has always been sporadic, but its continuous and exemplary commitment to Russian.

The first mention of a class in Russian refers to session 1951/52. The *Sixth Annual Report* records a two-week course in 'Scientific Russian' attended by ten men and two women, given by a 'Panel of University Lecturers'. It is not stated who comprised this panel, and they and their course have left no trace in departmental history. I must admit to surprise at learning that there were enough people with a knowledge of Russian and the ability to teach it in the minuscule University of those days to make up a panel.

It is commonly agreed in the profession that, for whatever irrational reasons, political and military events impinge violently on the popularity of Russian as a subject. When the Soviet Union/Russia presents a friendly face to the world, people want to study the language; when the Soviet Union/Russia presents a threatening face to the world, there is an immediate flight from studying the language. Things should be the other way round, you might think.

It follows that the two key dates in this survey are 1957 and 1968. The first refers to the launch of the first Sputnik and to Yuri Gagarin's subsequent space exploit. These events captured the world's imagination and put the wind up the world's governments. They led to an upsurge of interest in things Russian and to the commissioning by the government of the day of yet another report on the country's provision of Slavonic, African and Asian languages (the Hayter Report).

The Department of Extramural Studies, innovative as always, catered to this demand. Thus, the *Annual Report* for 1959/60 records the first three-year course in Russian language and literature under the aegis of the University Extension Lectures. And there were sufficient numbers to warrant the formation of two groups: Tanya Chizhova (now living in Australia, presumably retired) took Group 1 with fifteen men and eight women (these are registered students) and Lydia Shorrocks (now retired, and still living in Leeds) took Group 2 with twelve men and six women. This is the sort of recruitment that would bring joy to the flintiest administrative heart today. The annual report comments: 'In the "traditional" field of liberal studies for members of the general public particularly successful new courses were arranged in Russian language and literature.'

Success bred success. In session 1961/62 there were three groups comprising forty-eight registered students in all on the three-year extension course. These figures, of course, refer to the first year. The drop-out rate after the end of the first year, was, and remains, high, as the student realizes what a knotty subject Russian is—like learning to play the piano.

That session also saw the first course in Russian for the Services' Education Committee. Courses for the SEC continued for several years, but eventually we lost them to Bristol University.

Session 1962/63 saw fifty-six registered students, in four groups. This was the session in which C. A. Johnson made his first appearance on the Leeds University adult education scene, and he has worked steadily ever since. At the moment of writing I am having a year off from what I grandiloquently used to call 'paying off my debt to society' (there's a formula from another age, another world!), but the fact is that this rest is enforced owing to my last class having become unviable. Still, I am quite proud of my years spent teaching for Extramural/Continuing Education: I regard it as time well spent, one of the brighter strands in my university career.

And so success continued to lead to success. In 1962 the first Extension Certificates were awarded, to two students. In session 1963/64 Russian was offered at the Bradford Centre for the first time. In 1964 seven certificates were awarded. In 1965 Tom Gleave of the then Special Courses Division organized a never-to-be-forgotten tour to Moscow and Leningrad, outwards by train (Tom stoutly defended our seats at Warsaw Station), homewards by ship, with classes held in the first-class lounge and an SOS call, responding to which gave us an extra day at sea. There must have been in the region of forty participants.

In 1965 eight certificates were awarded. In 1966/67 advanced courses were introduced in both Leeds and Bradford.

And then suddenly the fat years were over. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet forces in 1968 caused worldwide revulsion—and an immediate fall-off, no matter how irrational it appears, in interest in Russian and in recruitment at all levels of education, most noticeably in the schools. And where Extramural Studies had had the field to itself for so long, there was now competition in the Russian stakes from the Swarthmore adult education centre, Leeds Polytechnic and Bradford University. It is not surprising that my colleagues in the Russian Department lost interest in giving evening classes.

Experience from the 1970s onwards shows that there will always be enough takers to make up a beginners' year, but thereafter the situation becomes problematical. Many people are happy just to have the one year, and I see no harm in that. In the modern world the three-year course cannot be the be-all-and-end-all it once was. Many people also realize that they do not have the time or the commitment for further study of a highly technical subject. I admire their honesty and lack of illusion.

Where demand has remained steady over the years is for the one-year advanced class, started and run for many years by Valya Konzevich and latterly by my wife, Tanya. The advanced class consists of a hard core of enthusiastic, not to say fanatic, students who come back for more each September. And each year they are joined by a smaller number of students fresh to the group. Among these latter, I am happy to report, is a fair sprinkling of French and German people who have done Russian in the past and happen to be in the University or in the Leeds area that particular year, and wish to keep their hand in. Tanya Johnson was especially glad to welcome to her class two students from the former German Democratic Republic.

Apart from 'paying off my debt to society', what else has attracted me to adult/continuing education? When Tom Caldwell headed Liberal Studies, he asked my opinion about the standard reached by my students who took the Extension Certificate and how it compared with the intramural standard. (I think the Department was taking flak at the time from certain University grandees who were calling on it to justify its existence.) Tom was a skilled interlocutor and I found myself replying, as it were automatically, along these lines: students doing Russian in a weekly two-hour evening class for twenty-four weeks a year do not reach the same standard on the language side that intramural students do (although there have been several brilliant naturals); the students themselves are diffident about their attainment in language, typically lamenting the fact that they no longer have the memory they had at 18 (this is not the real reason); but that when it came to literature, to reading and studying Pushkin and Chekhov, say, in the original, they brought a wealth of knowledge and experience, to say nothing of enthusiasm, that the intramural lot did not have (my besetting fault as a teacher has been my wanting old heads on young shoulders). It was, and still is, this encounter with experience and knowledge that attracts me to these classes.

'You changed my life'

Valerie Smith

Adult education tutors do not stand in quite the same relationship to mature students as other university lecturers do to 18 or 19 year olds. We are not *in loco parentis*; we are not protected by any professional duty to look after the moral welfare of young students, emotionally immature and less experienced in life. We meet in our classes the kind of people we meet at work and at parties and in the pub, and sometimes we fall in love with them and sometimes they fall in love with us. But no-one talks about it very much.

The subject has surfaced recently in the context of the debate over sexual harassment. Second-wave feminism exposed the misuse of male power in the workplace and in academia, and most institutions now possess (on paper at least) an equal opportunities policy and a commitment to take sexual harassment seriously. When the tutor is male and 40 and the student is female and 18, the issue is fairly clear. But when both are 30 or 40 or 50—when both have lived and worked with men and women for many years—can there still be an element of exploitation?

Liberal adult education at Leeds has flourished within the format of the seminar class: a group of between a dozen and twenty-odd people who meet every week for a year, two years, three years, to study a subject of their choice. This group is not diluted by attendance at the huge anonymous lecture, or broken down into the challenging intimacy of the personal tutorial. A good group transforms itself into a most efficient learning unit, and while some of the methods for doing this can be learned, there is no doubt that a key element in the transformation is the personality of the tutor.

It is hard to learn anything if you do not like and respect your tutor. Sometimes the respect comes first—'she knows her subject'—and the liking later. But if the students don't like the tutor—if the tutor is rude, overbearing, idle, inconsiderate, inaudible, sarcastic, patronizing, incomprehensible—no learning will take place. In fact, no class will take place, because the students will all go away and enrol somewhere else. Tutors who work in adult education have always had that powerful incentive to become good teachers, very very quickly, and most of them do just that.

But sometimes a tutor is admired, loved, followed from class to class by a devoted band of students who will do anything to please him. (Or her. But it does often seem to be him.)

They will learn new languages, or resurrect old ones, or trail about in the muddiest parts of archaeological sites, or spend all their leisure time transcribing almost illegible documents so that their tutor may work from beautiful clear transcripts. They will read and study and write essays, they give papers and go to day-schools and look at paintings with new eyes, and every so often one of them will pluck up the courage to say to their favourite tutor: you changed my life.

It is quite true. We do change people's lives. They come to our classes to learn a little, and if they are good students their whole lives may be shaken up with a new passion for learning and study, for a whole intellectual world that had been a closed book, a realm that once belonged only to the fortunate few who were able to go to university when they were young. And even those who graduated in the past may find in mid-life or at retirement the same thing happening to them, as they turn from engineering to sociology, or from social work to literature, or from teaching literature to learning art history.

It would be invidious to name names among the members of the Department, living or dead; and in any case this personal relationship is precisely that, a personal and individual response. It does not work for every student, it does not work for every tutor. A charismatic and empowering teacher may be for some students a vain and pretentious charlatan; a kindly and supportive tutor may appear to others as too quiet, too dull, not enough of an intellectual challenge. We cannot envisage a staff development programme on 'how to make your students love you without becoming too much of a nuisance'. But we can reflect upon the consequences of such attachments, upon good and bad ways of dealing with such feelings.

Recent attention to sexual harassment of mature students, and the vexed question of 'consensual relationships' between tutors and students, has made us think again about the supposed equality of mature student and tutor. In terms of the power relationship in the classroom, we are not equals; however democratically we arrange the chairs we are still in charge, we are still responsible for what goes on in the classroom. In accredited courses we have the power to pass and fail, but this power does not depend on accreditation alone; I remember handing in my written work for Joint Committee classes with as much anxiety as any undergraduate assessment. I would be judged, and by someone I knew and liked, and would see every week for the next few months: I longed for it to be a favourable judgement.

We have power over our students, and a first duty is to recognize this fact; and if that power leads to a strong attachment, to handle it with tact and delicacy. To embark deliberately or carelessly upon an exploitive and short-term sexual relationship is clearly a misuse of power, but to ignore the whole thing and pretend that it does not exist is equally hurtful.

Most of Western literature deals with the topic of romantic love and its power over men and women, a power seen to reside in the body and the heart. Much less is written about the passion of the mind, the attraction between two people who can share ideas, who will explore new thoughts as far as those thoughts will lead. Here and there in literary sources we glimpse such passion: Jane Eyre falls in love with Rochester not just for his manly chest and his flashing eyes, but because he talks to her and listens to her answers. He pays attention to her work, her paintings, and indeed thinks so highly of them he cannot believe that they are her own production. Her nettled response is echoed by every student whose own thoughts were taken to be a crib from some other writer. Rochester treats Jane, in the opening stages of his knowledge of her, as his intellectual equal, and the perception of this is an exhilarating experience to a young woman hungry for recognition of her true inner self, of her intelligence and abilities.

We do this for our students, sometimes: we listen to their halting ideas, we take them seriously, perhaps for the first time in their lives. I am most grateful to those tutors who, recognizing a temporary passion for the tutor, diverted it into a passion for that which was taught; who channelled my pleasure at using my mind at full stretch into the proper study first of chemistry, then of literature and lately of history. (Thus qualifying me for a career as an alchemist?) I am grateful that they did not laugh when I said 'You changed my life', or leap on me, but took me seriously and encouraged me to write better essays. The irony is that my chemistry teacher introduced me to Chaucer, and my literature tutor to Einstein and relativity, and another literature tutor to Marx and social history. They changed my life by changing my mind, but not in ways that were on the syllabus.

It has been a long time … !

John Nellist

It is not easy after so many years to summarize one's impressions of working for the Department, or 'Extramural' as it was known in those days. It was George McTague who invited me to take my first course in the history of British architecture. I had written a book for A-Level students, which had been published by Macmillan and he had come across it, I can't remember how, and had liked it and asked me if I would be interested in doing a course for the Department. At that time, I think there was only one other part-time tutor of the subject, and he was up in Middlesbrough. He wrote occasional pieces for the *Guardian*, when it had 'Manchester' in front!

In retrospect, it was one of the most important steps of my life. I had become more and more depressed, both with my own painting and with the state of art in England in the 1950s. Only abstract and non-representational work was being hung, and I found myself turning more and more to architecture, which seemed to have much more relation to people and their needs, instead of the rather arid intellectualism and weak draftmanship of the abstractionists.

Anyway, one of my first courses was in Halifax, in the centre in Harrison Road, or perhaps Street, I can't remember now, but I do remember the class. Great people, sturdily independent, but marvellously supportive and dedicated to the WEA (it was a Joint Tutorial course), and every Wednesday there they were, whatever the weather. From them, the redoubtable Mrs Clarry, the staunch Boothroyds, and many others who remained faithful throughout many seasons and overseas tours, I learned the craft of working with adults; keeping their interest, joining in their enthusiasm for knowledge and learning, I can only hope the class members got as much out of the courses as I did. There were no evaluation forms then, just empty seats if you didn't come up to scratch. It was up to you, and if you wanted the class to continue (and let's face it the money was comparatively better then) you listened to the kindly but firm advice which they dished out, and it worked, not only for Halifax but for all the many other centres it has been my good fortune to work in.

It was also George McTague who invited me to go as his assistant to Venice, working with American students. We started in Rome and then worked our way through Europe by bus and train, stopping for three or four days in Florence, Venice and so on through to London. The tours lasted about six weeks, lectures and visits in the morning, and the rest of the day free to do as you pleased. This made it possible to visit galleries, palaces, churches and other buildings that would otherwise have been out of my reach. Gradually, what I learned on these mad, hectic days, began to feed back into the courses I was able to offer. All the capitals were wonderful but it was Venice that was most important. In that wondrous city I began to realize what painting was all about and it became necessary for me to start painting again in earnest.

I left the teaching profession without regrets, with the intention of increasing both my work for the Department, and the time I could devote to painting. This I have been able to do, so you might say that I have had it both ways!

Part Two

Departmental Provision

8

Educating Industrial Workers 1954–1974: Growth and Achievement within the Raybould Formula

Roger Dyson

This chapter is the personal perspective of someone who worked in the Department from February 1963 to September 1974, when this account ends. The period 1954–74 has been chosen because it covers the growth and apogee of the educational programme for industrial workers. It started with the first day-release course for miners on the Joint Committee programme and ended with a substantial programme of independent workers' education organized within an Industrial Studies Unit. The early 1970s represented a peak in the independent workers' education programme which subsequently experienced substantial decline.

The nature of this programme needs to be carefully delineated. Industrial workers were free to attend all types of university and non-university adult education programmes, but the work under discussion in this chapter is much more narrowly defined. The three key criteria were the range of subjects studied, the employment background of the students, and their method of recruitment. The academic subjects studied were all in the segment of the behavioural sciences based around economics, and those branches of politics, sociology, psychology and law that focused upon the behaviour of workers in employment and the relations between employers and trade unions studied as 'industrial relations'. Within this programme time was given to reading, communicating and writing skills primarily referred to as 'communications'. This subject definition alone is not sufficient to describe the work. Many manual workers attended economics courses that were outside this special 'industrial workers' programme'.

The second criterion was background. All the students were drawn from the ranks of the trade unions, many of them were lay officers, and a few were from 'management' unions. Again, this definition is still insufficient because, for example, Albert Johnson for many years ran a three-year evening tutorial class in Leeds in economics for an assortment of industrial workers who were trade union members, but the class was never thought of as part of the 'industrial workers' programme'.

The third criterion, which finally defined the range of work that became known as the Industrial Studies Unit, was the method of recruitment. All owed their original recruitment to an initiative involving one or more industrial companies which meant that the programme originated within a clearly defined trade union or industry, even though many of the individual students continued in the programme in subsequent years at their own initiative. The bulk of the work was undertaken with the engineering and coalmining industries in the West Riding and the steel industry on Teesside. There were occasional other ventures, for example with the textile industry in West Yorkshire, but throughout its life the programme was almost totally dominated by coal, steel and engineering.

These special characteristics of the programme always caused Raybould some unease. Much of the work was day release and most of the students had their fees paid by outside organizations. Much of Raybould's unease can be caricatured by a recent political slogan of ill fortune, '... if it isn't hurting it isn't working'.[1] For Raybould, a good education had to be fought for with intellectual sweat and torment: income foregone; leisure foregone; and long nights of reading and writing. This ensured that the motivation was unsullied. Perhaps the industrial studies students had it too easy and in consequence might not be properly motivated.

To ease this anxiety the principles of Raybould's approach to university adult education were more rigorously applied. The course work requirements, including reading and written work, were vigorously pursued and recorded—perhaps almost more so than in Joint Committee classes further away from his immediate observation. The length of study was rigorously tied to three- and four-year programmes and even the early introduction of the University Extension Certificate into this programme may have owed something to the desire to prove its academic rigour and respectability. Needless to say, the teaching style was regarded as objective and the independence of the programme from any detailed interference by unions or employers was fiercely protected.

The second question that might puzzle the uninitiated reader about the industrial studies programme was why it ended up primarily in the independent working-class programme of the Extension Lectures Committee, rather than within the Joint Committee where it might be thought more appropriately to reside. Indeed, Raybould himself wrote that

> the problem of demarcating the territories of the two Committees themselves could not be solved ... in terms of the kinds of subject sponsored, since students not attracted to the WEA, and for whom the Extension Committee should provide, might well be interested in 'liberal' studies, including those with a strong social reference. Considered in this way, the aspects of the WEA special purposes which seem to provide a means of distinguishing between the work of the Joint Committee and that of the Extension Committee was its particular concern for working-class students—not least in the North Yorkshire District Association. After thorough discussion along these lines between the Director and the Officers and Executive Committee of the District, it was recommended and agreed that the Joint Committee should be regarded as the Committee through which the University would normally make its contribution to working-class education, and the Extension Committee as having been established to enable provision to be made for other kinds of students ...[2]

This statement by Raybould in 1955, almost at the start of the industrial studies programme, clearly identifies the work as belonging to the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee.

So why did it turn out to be different? There are several facets to the answer that all have their origin in the late 1950s. By the very beginning of the 1960s the die was cast and the predominance of the independent workers' education programme under the Extension Committee was maintained by the continuing application of the formulae of the late 1950s.

Before 1954 the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) was clearly the first in the field with evening and day-release courses for industrial workers. This success was almost entirely based in Cleveland and was achieved primarily through shorter WEA programmes. The Yorkshire North District had a trade union advisory body, the Workers' Education Trade Union Committee (WETUC), to advise on courses and to help it recruit. This limited success in Cleveland compared with the almost total failure in the West Riding where many trade union programmes were under the influence of the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC). The NCLC had a strongly Marxist approach to its interpretation of industrial studies, whereas the WETUC was primarily non-Marxist, although this would not be true of all affiliations. The success in Cleveland included a WEA course for the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) which led to a three-year tutorial in 1952, and to a more ambitious pilot scheme of trade union education with national union funding to appoint an organizer, Mr N. Cawthorne. A second tutor, John Ireland, was appointed to join the programme in October 1954. This course for shift workers at South Bank in Cleveland had run intermittently from as early as 1948/49. In addition to these daytime and shift activities, evening classes for industrial workers in economics had been set up and courses were run for the National Union of Agricultural Workers (NUAW) by Tom Caldwell with a somewhat wider academic range than the traditional boundaries of industrial studies.

Raybould's response to these initiatives was supportive and entirely within the framework of the Joint Committee. In 1946 Albert Johnson had been one of the first joint appointments between the Department and the University's Department of Economics, with a commitment to teach three classes a year in adult education. Apart from a Joint Committee class in economics in Leeds, which became quite famous and extended as a three-year or four-year tutorial class for the whole of Albert's career in the Department, the remainder of the work was done in Cleveland in the shape of economics and related classes at Middlesbrough, Redcar and Broughton. Albert's first truly industrial studies class was for steel industry shift workers at South Bank in 1948/49 with an enrolment of forty-eight. This one-year event reverted to the status of a WEA class subsequently, but in 1952/53 it again became a tutorial class run by Eric Sudale.

The real breakthrough in terms of the scale of teaching came in 1954/55 with the establishment of the miners' day release course in Leeds. The background is interesting:

> the Department was invited by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Sheffield to co-operate with it, and with the Yorkshire Area of the NUM in the provision of daytime courses of study in Economics and Industrial Relations for members of the union. The invitation, which was readily accepted, followed the successful promotion of a similar course by the Sheffield Extra-Mural Department at Chesterfield in 1952–53 which has attracted a great deal of attention and has resulted in additional courses being organized in Derbyshire in 1953–54. The arrangement, which is made possible by the financial support of the NUM, is designed to enable the students to pursue

progressive courses of study during three winters under more favourable conditions than are usually possible for part-time students.[3]

The initial approach was from the University of Sheffield to the University of Leeds. The programme was run in Leeds where the WEA presence in educating industrial workers was very poor. Despite this, Raybould had no hesitation in putting this on the Joint Committee programme as a two-year tutorial class, the first year paid by the union and the second year paid by the Coal Board. This development was reported in exactly the same terms in the WEA District Report for 1953/54. This first Joint Committee programme was taken by Roy Shaw, teaching 'Thought and Expression', and Albert Johnson and Pat Duffy teaching 'Economic and Industrial Problems'.

This first Joint Committee miners' course was extended to three years. The tutors taking the second year were Johnson, Duffy, and Shaw, and in 1956/57 the third-year team was Johnson, Duffy, Crawley and Dalby. This tutorial class remained under the Joint Committee throughout its life and until 1956/57 nothing in the Department or WEA records gives any reason to suggest that the University would begin to develop its own programme for this group of workers independently of the WEA. Yet within the space of four years a large and growing independent programme had been established in the West Riding in which the WEA was given no opportunity to participate.

Piecing together what happened is difficult, even for someone who worked in the Department between 1963 and 1974. There is a clear explanation on paper. In 1956/57 the WEA had run a second day-release course in the West Riding for Co-operative Society officers, taught by Ted Stephenson. The WEA *Annual Report* of 1956/57 speaks of these two courses as 'only nominally attached to the Joint Committee at Leeds, and which next year will be provided as Certificate courses under the Extension Committee and not as WEA classes'.[4] The new three-year miners' course that started in 1957/58 as an extension programme was indeed listed in the Department's *Annual Report* as 'possibly taking the University Extension Certificate'. On the face of it, nothing could be more straightforward. The WEA did not give awards and did not organize and run award-bearing courses. The mystery, if there is a mystery, is who initiated the idea of a certificate course for this day-release work. The miners at that time were all recruited through the Sheffield extramural department and their courses were not award-bearing, nor was there a demand from the Yorkshire branch of the NUM to make them so. But this transfer of the miners to the independent (extension) programme was only a first step.

From 1 January 1959, Albert Johnson was appointed as Assistant Director to continue his teaching work in the Department and also to undertake 'duties in connection with efforts to strengthen the programme of the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, and to enable the Department to continue to make a substantial contribution to working-class adult education.'[5] Significantly, it had been reported the previous year that in addition to his responsibility for planning the Joint Committee programme he was to be responsible for the organization of other extramural courses provided for working-class students and organizations, for an initial period of three years.[6]

There is no question that this appointment marked a watershed in relations between the WEA and the Department and that the decision was quite clearly Raybould's. From this date onwards Albert Johnson organized all the working-class education in the West Riding independently of the WEA and all of it came within the earlier definition of industrial studies. He did this whilst working closely with Fred Sedgwick, the WEA District Secretary, to try to bolster the Joint Committee programme as a whole. All Sedgwick's annual reports at the WEA remained courteous and enthusiastic in their references to Albert Johnson for the whole of the 1960s until his premature retirement. It is intriguing to speculate why Raybould decided that working-class education for this particular group of students in the West Riding was not going to develop unless the University decided to organize the work independently. One snippet of information about Raybould's attitude to the WEA is that his annual contribution to the Association increased regularly to twelve guineas a year by 1957/58. Thereafter it peaked and fell to ten guineas in 1960/61 and was never to be higher than ten guineas again. Raybould was never a man to do something by whim and one can only assume that this decision came after a careful reassessment of his view of the role of the WEA!

The most likely explanation, the need to use the Extension Certificate, seems ruled out by other contemporary events. The third-year miners fared relatively badly in their Certificate examination in 1958/59 and the *Annual Report* expressed concern at the inability of industrial relations day-release students to pass examinations. The controversy about the suitability of the

Extension Certificate for day-release industrial workers would hardly have made it the primary reason for creating Albert Johnson's new post in the same year. We are left therefore with the more likely conclusion that Raybould's frustration with the inability of the WEA to develop this type of work in the West Riding led him to undertake a separate initiative that quite clearly brought into the Extension programme a piece of work earlier defined as belonging wholly to the province of the Joint Committee.

The examination controversy was settled the following year when the Board of Extramural Studies and the Senate decided that

> the standard required in the final examination for the Certificate should remain unaltered, but that changes should be made in regard to the requirements of earlier years of the courses to take account of the situation of the students who, though of good ability, are handicapped by lack of examination experience, and require time to acquire the habit of study and skill in writing.

The two years after Albert Johnson's appointment witnessed a considerable growth in industrial studies work due entirely to the efforts of Johnson himself. In 1961/62, in addition to the miners' day-release courses, Alex Kelly ran the first one-year industrial relations course for the engineering industry with nineteen students and a similar course in Bradford with seven students. These two, together with an industrial relations course in Castleford with twenty-one students, broke new ground for the West Riding programme. When Pat Duffy was elected to Parliament the following year the opportunity was taken to reorganize and strengthen the staffing of this growing programme. Geoff Roberts replaced Pat Duffy with a post based in Middlesbrough to undertake Joint Committee work in industrial studies whilst Roger Dyson was appointed as an assistant lecturer in economics and industrial relations, and Stanley Virgo relinquished his post as Secretary of the Department to take up a lectureship in communications, both the latter posts being based in the West Riding. Pat Duffy had a wider range of work than the narrower industrial studies role given to Geoff Roberts, and in consequence the new team represented a substantial extension of the previous teaching capacity. The team of Johnson, Kelly, Virgo and Dyson constituted the bulk of the teaching strength in industrial studies in the West Riding throughout the 1960s with smaller contributions from Tom Caldwell and Jack Prichard.

The decision to place Geoff Roberts on Teesside to work within the Joint

Committee programme illustrates the support given to the WEA to try to develop its own industrial studies work in areas where it had a stronger track record with the steel industry. The difficulties with this appointment in the early to mid 1960s, however, only served to strengthen the view that this work was not going to be developed effectively by the WEA. Geoff Roberts had a light programme in his first year (1963/64) and then left the Department. He was followed by Roger Jones with a two-year programme that was equally light, with the result that, in his second year, he had to give considerable assistance in the West Riding in order to fill out his timetable. When Jones left no attempt was made to replace him with an industrial studies lecturer on Teesside until after the steel industry day-release course was well established.

The picture was very different in the West Riding not only because of the growth and continuation of the miners' work, but because of the development of a major programme with the engineering industry in Leeds and Bradford. Albert Johnson forged a close link with a remarkably able and effective AEU District Officer, St John Binns, and with him developed this programme with engineering industry shop stewards, resulting in a four-year cycle in which two one-year day-release courses led to recruitment into a single three-year evening certificate course. In Bradford, by contrast, Binns's opposite number was less supportive and Albert Johnson developed work with individual companies, English Electric, International Harvester and Crofts. He ran one-year day-release courses for their stewards from a variety of unions, again leading to three-year evening courses, some of which became certificated. A similar shorter programme ran for a total of three years with Firths Carpets in Brighouse. The scale of this programme between 1963/64 and 1973/74 is summarized in the table on page 115 (facing).

The ten-year record is an interesting one. It shows that the programme established in the West Riding by 1963/64 of fourteen courses set a level that was not to be exceeded again in the decade. It also shows quite clearly the importance of the day-release courses for the steel industry established from 1967/68 onwards in maintaining the overall growth in the industrial studies programme. This Joint Committee work constituted two-fifths of the programme from 1968/69 onwards and was largely responsible for the switch of resources away from the West Riding, primarily Virgo and Dyson but also to a lesser extent Kelly, to sustain a large new demand. It should also

Industrial Studies: Courses and Enrolments 1963/64 to 1973/74 *				
Session	Extension	Joint Committee	Total Courses	Total Enrolment
1963/64	14	2	16	117
1964/65	13	1	14	125
1965/66	15	1	16	167
1966/67	11	–	11	135
1967/68	10	4	14	165
1968/69	12	9	21	244
1969/70	9	9	18	285
1970/71	10	9	19	289
1971/72	11	9	20	295
1972/73	13	10	23	311
1973/74	15	9	24	n/a

* One-, two- and three-year courses and introductory courses planned as part of a continuation on twelve meetings or more. Courses that failed to recruit or failed to sustain attendance are not included, nor are special events like the trade union seminar.

be explained that the dip in the size of the programme and its recruitment in 1966/67 was due to Albert Johnson's illness in that year and the lack of any alternative organizing responsibility. The only other particular trend to mention was that when Roger Dyson took responsibility for organizing the West Riding programme in 1970/71 it grew again to a total of fifteen courses by 1973/74 as a result of an expansion of engineering industry recruitment. Most encouraging of all was the continued growth in the number of students recruited and the decade saw a threefold increase in student numbers for only a fifty per cent increase in the number of courses.

One final development of Albert Johnson's, well worth recording, was the creation of the trade union seminar. This was a lunch-time seminar for full-time officials of trade unions based in and around Leeds that ran anything from four to six meetings a year, and it was very well attended given the limited number of union full-time officers in the city. Alan Fisher gave his first lecture as Assistant Secretary of NUPE at this seminar and Rodney Bickerstaffe his first lecture as a NUPE full-time officer. The regular contact that this provided for teaching staff of the University with union full-time officials was of considerable help in meeting the challenge from the TUC in the last five years of the decade.

Raybould retired when the industrial studies programme of independent workers' education in the West Riding and Joint Committee work in Cleveland had proved itself to be successful and was recruiting nearly three hundred students a year, leading into longer-term tutorial courses and, in the West Riding, certificate courses with all the associated objectivity, rigour and examination. He could justly be pleased with the outcome and he retired before the crisis of confidence that led eventually to the collapse of the programme at Leeds and elsewhere. When he retired, the cause of this collapse, the TUC, was merely a cloud on the horizon.

To understand the next stage in the history of the programme it is necessary to understand that the two ideologically opposed programmes of the WETUC (WEA trade union provision under the auspices of TUC-affiliated trade unions) and the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) were both disbanded in the early 1960s and merged into a common TUC programme that was the responsibility of TUC regional education and training officers. These officers were appointed from amongst the people who had served full-time, with either the WETUC or the NCLC: in the case of the Yorkshire Region it was an NCLC officer, Albert Kitts, who came to be employed as TUC regional education and training officer, based in Sheffield. During the mid 1960s the TUC developed its own syllabus nationally and the role of its regional officers was to try to ensure uniformity in training throughout the country. The miners and the steelworkers continued their tutorial programmes, almost entirely with employer financial support, and were at first immune to the pressure for a common syllabus. Miners who were branch officials could indeed attend the TUC twelve-day programme without hindering their ability to go on to the University certificate. In the engineering industry, however, the backbone of the West

Riding programme, the twenty-four-day release course was crucial to the four-year programme and was the essential base from which the three-year evening tutorial classes were recruited.

The first attempts by Albert Kitts to take over this day-release programme, by requiring a common syllabus of twelve days in length in exchange for TUC funding, were successfully parried by St John Binns of the AEU, who continued to fight within the TUC's regional committee for a programme which he and his members trusted and wished to continue. Essentially, they were fighting for the objectivity claimed by the University to set its own programme within a nominal consultation arrangement with St John Binns himself. Binns was committed to a traditional liberal educational approach with all the values unspoken but shared with Raybould and Johnson. A secondary but not negligible reason was that the programme did not constitute a political challenge to the moderate leadership of the AEU in Leeds.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Kitts exerted greater and greater pressure for the common syllabus. Fred Sedgwick expressed the anxiety felt by many traditional providers in his annual report of 1971/72:

> another question mark has to do with the modern concept of 'Workers Education' as exemplified by the TUC's Educational Service (though not only by that). We welcomed the degree of rationalization undertaken by the TUC in this field seven years ago and it is good to see nowadays that day release courses for industrial workers are becoming much more numerous. But the fact has to be faced that most of this provision is for the training of shop stewards: its intention is fairly narrowly vocational and there is little sign yet of it leading to an upsurge of interest in intellectual, moral, cultural and social issues which should be the real stuff of adult education in a modern society.

This comment encapsulates very well the frustration of an older generation of trade union educators. The TUC was interested in training shop stewards to a common syllabus without variation and nothing more—not even the continuation of their education within a university or WEA framework. The fact that Albert Kitts's background was with the NCLC simply made the harshness of the transfer more apparent in Yorkshire than in some other regions. The WEA's own tutor-organizers in the West Riding had begun developing programmes with the TUC very quickly as a way of opening up work in an area where none had previously existed and the name of Harry Newton comes to mind—ironic in view of his later career history.

On the surface the industrial studies programme went from strength to strength in the last five years of the decade to 1974. Pat Duffy returned to the teaching team for a while, Derek Fatchett was appointed to a full-time post on Teesside, linked primarily to the steelworkers' courses, and Trevor Park, a former Labour MP, joined the team in Leeds. Industrial Studies became a subject group, within the Liberal Studies Division of the Department led by Bernard Jennings, and it acquired a large enough teaching team to become a strong voice within the Division. Internally, however, the team faced increasingly conflicting pressures; on the one hand to resist the view within the University that the programme was wholly vocational and therefore questionable as part of Leeds's contribution to liberal adult education, and on the other hand, the tightening noose of the TUC aimed at securing compliance with a standard programme and quite specifically training objectives. Not only did the TUC prescribe the case-study exercises to be used, it even reached the position by the mid 1970s of requiring that stewards should role-play only stewards, not managers, and that it was only the role of the tutor to represent the management view in the case-study before explaining the weaknesses in the management case that should lead to the trade union case being successful. One or two experiments with the TUC syllabus were carried out to test its suitability for the University programme, but in the main the protection of St John Binns meant that the major concessions on the key point of principle had still been avoided by 1974 when the scope of this chapter ends.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that the University was never going to win this contest. The TUC only required trainers to repeat speaking notes and in the end that is what they acquired, outside University provision. The 1970s and early 1980s saw the rise of industrial studies to an almost pre-eminent status in some university adult education departments. The rest of the 1980s witnessed a dramatic collapse, with provision first of all clustering around the continuing programmes of the specialist full-time staff and then declining more rapidly as those staff were replaced by specialists in other subjects.

Raybould's dream of working-class education has not survived this collapse in a form that he would recognize, although arguably the sixth-form colleges, the polytechnics (now, new universities) and wider university entry, including entry from mature students, have achieved this objective in a different way.

It is sad, but necessary, to report that before his retirement Raybould felt it necessary to rewrite the history of these events in a way which exonerated him regarding the decision to create an independent working-class programme. In the 1966/67 *Annual Report* he wrote of the industrial studies programme:

> in one sense these developments, and in particular the expansion of extension work, were not planned. They occurred largely as the result of the relative decline of the University tutorial class movement in the 1950's which made it necessary for steps to be taken to ensure that the full-time staff had adequate programmes of other kinds of work consistent with the Department's general policy, and thus necessitated the devotion of greater organizing and teaching resources to extension work.

This is quite simply incorrect. At the time of Albert Johnson's appointment with this responsibility on 1 January 1959, of all the staff contributing to the programme—Albert Johnson, Pat Duffy, Roy Shaw, Tom Caldwell, Alex Kelly—none was unable to obtain programmes, and significantly when Albert Johnson substantially expanded the programme in the two years after 1959 it was necessary to make two new full-time appointments, Roger Dyson and Stanley Virgo, to ensure that the work could be undertaken.

At some critical stage in the late 1950s Raybould finally decided that the WEA was going to fail to recruit what for him were the most important types of students he wanted in his department. That belief in the failure of the WEA led to Albert Johnson's specific responsibility for independent working-class education.

It was typical of Fred Sedgwick that he regarded his own heartfelt sadness at Raybould's desertion of the WEA in this field as a largely private matter, and in print he continued to pay tribute to the great qualities of Raybould and Johnson as co-workers in a common cause. Perhaps Fred Sedgwick emerges from the record of those twenty years as the only real gentleman. Albert Johnson was too much in awe of Raybould to undertake a policy initiative of his own, and only Raybould had the rectitude to sacrifice his friends for his principles.

References

1 John Major as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1990.

2 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, *Annual Report*, 1955/56.

3 *Annual Report*, 1954/55.

4 Workers' Educational Association (WEA), North Yorkshire District, *Annual Report*, 1956/57.

5 Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, *Annual Report*, 1958/59.

6 *Annual Report*, 1957/58.

7 *Annual Report*, 1959/60.

9

Remaking Trade Union Education: Industrial Studies Developments from 1979 to 1994

Keith Forrester

Introduction

The introduction of 'free-market' economics in the early 1980s represented a formidable challenge to the entire post-war consensus. A commitment to economic tripartism was replaced by an implacable ideological hostility to trade unions. As Hyman observed, 'The succession of anti-union laws, the attacks on public welfare, the "privatisation" of state industries and services, the deliberate creation of mass unemployment, are all logical reflections of a passionate faith in the virtues of competitive capitalism.'[1] For the trade unions and, more importantly, for the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the 1980s was a period of identifying a strategy that replaced their previous role as mediators between the state and the working class. For those in publicly funded institutions working educationally with the trade unions and their members, the last fifteen years have been a period characterized by doubt, uncertainty and defensiveness.

This chapter records the efforts of the Industrial Studies group within the Leeds Department first, simply to survive the virulent assault on the organizations, activities and morale of the labour movement, and secondly, to develop a number of learning initiatives designed to rebuild faith and confidence in the value of a critically informed democratic learning experience. The first part of the chapter records the impact of national neo-liberal policies on long-established educational links between the Department and trade unions in the region. Examples are also provided of new courses that were developed to replace these closures, sometimes with new constituencies and sometimes with new unions. The second part illustrates the manner in which closer but broader educational and research relationships were developed in an attempt both to counter the decline of traditionally organized trade union education and to create progressive alternatives to what had become a rather narrow educational focus. The concluding section of the chapter suggests that, for the future, although there will undoubtedly be difficulties, Leeds is confident of a future characterized by deepened and broader learning and research relationships with trade unions and their members.

Since its foundation in 1946, the Department at Leeds has always had a strong industrial studies programme, organized directly with trade unions, as a central aspect of its commitment to working-class adult education. Providing 'sustained' learning opportunities for trade unionists to examine critically the wider socio-economic context and to develop the understandings and skills necessary for active participation in their union and in the wider community, has always been the rationale for the industrial studies programme.

A quick comparison of the industrial studies programme in the late 1970s with that in the early 1990s would suggest few substantial differences. The 'sustained' two- and three-year day-release courses remain at the centre of the programme: the student numbers in the 1990s are, on average, lower than they were for similar classes in the late 1970s, and the unions involved are different, but sustained learning opportunities for trade unionists in the region remain a central feature of the provision. Shorter courses, of less than one year, are slightly more significant today than in the past. A closer analysis of the departmental annual reports over this period, however, would begin to hint at the changes that have occurred. In December 1993, for example, the two-year courses with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Yorkshire Area, were ended. (For many years these were three-year day-release courses.) After nearly forty years of day-release links with the NUM, the agreement to close the classes was a painful and reluctant decision. The haemorrhage of job losses and pit closures since the defeat of the miners in the mid 1980s, coupled with restrictions on day-release arrangements by British Coal, eventually undermined any efforts to maintain the courses. The two-year courses in Middlesbrough with the steelworkers' union had suffered a similar fate, some five years earlier. And while the Department had never been a major actor in the provision of TUC courses of ten and twelve days' duration, they did provide an important part of the programme, especially in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The last TUC occupational health and safety course was organized by the Department in 1990. Comparative statistical analysis of programme changes are, however, poor tools to portray the pain, disbelief and often sheer bewilderment of occupational communities with a tradition of educational links to Industrial Studies in the Department. Two recessions and fifteen years of governmental policy designed finally to 'settle' the union question either substantially weakened or ended the Department's educational connections with the miners, the engineering sector, the steel industry; the textile industry and to a lesser extent, in the 1990s, with local-government and health workers.

Workers' education reflects closely the developments and traumas within the wider economy and the 1980s were, above all, a period of rapid and often brutal social and economic change. Inevitably, these wider forces had their impact on the industrial studies programmes of universities throughout the country. The optimistic and expansionist tenor of the Universities Council for Adult Education *Report on Industrial Studies* of 1976 makes for sombre reading in the 1990s. By the early 1990s most of the industrial studies programmes in Britain had either been discontinued or were operating with substantially reduced output and resources. Leeds has been one of the few universities that have managed, numerically, to maintain its comparatively large programme of teaching and research with the trade unions throughout 'the cold climate'. In some areas, such as research activity, the work has been substantially strengthened. The remainder of this chapter will illustrate the main changes in the Industrial Studies programme over this period, and it will be argued that the problems characterizing workers' education in Britain in the early 1990s require radical and imaginative solutions and that universities are well placed to respond to these challenges.

The developing crisis in trade union education

By the early 1990s, it was clear that trade unions were facing a number of interrelated problems that posed serious threats to the continuation of their education policies and activities that had been formulated in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Membership had declined dramatically,[2] the government had attempted to improve Britain's poor economic record through reforming the supply side of the domestic economy[3] and 'after 12 years of the Thatcherite regime industrial relations in the United Kingdom had been turned upside down'.[4] Mass unemployment returned in the 1980s to become, so it seemed, a normal and acceptable part of Britain's economic and political life.

The impact of all this on the Leeds Industrial Studies programme was dramatic. As perhaps was to be expected from a Department in a large industrial conurbation surrounded by heavy industry, the predominant educational links were with those industries with well-organized, heavily unionized workplaces: engineering, steel, manufacturing and coal. The rapid decline of such industries in the early 1980s created problems of recruitment, paid educational leave and of low morale that continued throughout the decade. The TUC courses in the Department, with the engineering and manufacturing unions, ceased; student numbers on the steel courses became a perennial problem.

Although the sustained courses with the Yorkshire miners continued throughout the 1980s, it was clear, in the aftermath of the bitter 1985 strike, that the traditional educational relationship with the miners would eventually be a casualty of government policy to break the industry. Various changes to the programme were discussed with the NUM throughout the late 1980s, but in December 1993 it was agreed that the students completing the current two-year day-release course would be the last, although the Department remains involved with the NUM in weekend schools. The privatization of the steel industry and the redeployment of the industrial studies tutor in Middlesbrough, in the late 1980s, resulted in the closure of the Middlesbrough programme.

However, new relationships and new initiatives were also being developed. The first two-year day-release busworkers' course, for example, was started in 1983 at Leeds with the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) ; it continued through the 1980s and 1990s, with plans to extend provision to Middlesbrough by the later 1990s. The two-year distance learning course for TGWU members began in 1985 and, although currently under review, represents an initiative designed to provide sustained learning opportunities for lay members whilst overcoming some of the problems of lack of paid educational leave. New relationships were also emerging in the 1980s. In 1986, for example, the Department decided to develop close links with the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW). Composed of predominantly part-time women workers unable to obtain paid educational leave from their employers, USDAW offered the Department new audiences within a non-traditional format. Evening classes, linked Sunday schools, weekend schools, staff development seminars for full-time officers and short induction courses during working hours, increasingly became part of the industrial studies programme. Today, the University is USDAW's principal educational and research partner.

If the industrial manufacturing sectors were at the receiving end of the government policy in the early 1980s, it was the public sector that felt the chill winds towards the end of the decade. Throughout the 1970s and most of the 1980s health service workers, local-government employees and fire brigade workers had formed important audiences in the two-year public sector courses. Although the sustained public sector course continued throughout the 1980s, by the early 1990s the one hundred thousand job losses from local government in the first two years of the decade were beginning to affect recruitment. It remains to be seen whether it will be possible to continue these long-established courses in the years ahead. However, short-course work with public sector trade unions, primarily with the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE, now Unison), and with the health service membership of the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union (MSF), continued to provide an important link with the membership and with workplaces. The Unison 'Return to Learn' courses, in particular, represent an innovative challenge to more traditional union education provision. Started in 1991 and involving tutors working with groups of very inexperienced members throughout Yorkshire and Humberside, these nine-month courses once again provide powerful evidence of trade union members' thirst for learning and their ability to study at an appropriate level in further and higher education, and within a sympathetic and supportive learning environment.

Perhaps the most significant new development in the Industrial Studies programme that resulted from the recession-dominated 1980s was the large programme of classes for unemployed people, as discussed briefly in Chapter 3 of this volume.[6] In association with the TUC's network of Unemployed Workers' Centres throughout Britain, the Department quickly established itself as the central agency for short and residential courses for activists from the centres, at both a local and national level.[7] Attracting substantial sums of financial support from a number of trade unions and latterly from the

European Social Fund, the courses continue to provide an opportunity for centre users to analyse the historical, economic and political circumstances of structural unemployment, challenging the predominant 'blame the victim' explanation. Regular research reports on the activities in the centres were forwarded to the TUC's General Council and were used in debates and policy discussions at Annual Conference.

University and trade union links: a broader relationship

Creating new courses and developing new relationships with occupational communities in the region was one important feature of the Department's attempt to cope with the economic ravages of the 1980s. These experiences, however, have illustrated a deeper, more serious problem for those interested in working-class educational provision through the trade unions: namely, the fragility and often marginal role of education in labour organizations. Operating within an increasingly hostile political environment resulting from the election of three successive Conservative governments, there was a case for increased educational activity, especially amongst the lay membership. The example of the trade unions educationally mobilizing against the threat to their political funds in the mid 1980s provided a powerful illustration of what could be achieved.[8] Since the mid 1980s there has been in fact a curtailing of educational activity. The protracted withdrawal of government financial support for TUC shop steward training in the early 1990s further reduced educational activity and initiative. The massive growth of TUC and individual union educational provision in the late 1970s had not resulted in learning activities becoming an integral, systematic part of trade union activity. With few exceptions, the situation in the early 1990s was, for adult educationists, dire.

It is difficult to apportion responsibility, or indeed culpability, for this situation, especially after the heady optimism of the 1970s. Part of any analysis must be the role of the publicly funded bodies. Provision in the universities and further education sector resulted in a separation of 'knowledge' and 'activity': education became divorced from a developmental and organizational dynamic. From the perspective of the trade unions, education or learning, where necessary, were done by the providers and were not organically part of trade union behaviour or activity apart from discussions of a resource nature. From the providers' perspective, education was learning within the classroom, largely on a paid educational leave basis. The large expansion of trade union education in the 1970s, in other words, masked a structural weakness that became increasingly apparent in the late 1980s and 1990s. Learning, either in the organization or for the membership, remained a marginal and increasingly vulnerable function of labour organizations. Whilst the college sector, the overwhelming provider of trade union education for most unions, was never likely to be in a position to overcome this weakness owing to the terms and conditions on which staff were employed, the liberal adult educationists were in a position to confront this problem. To a large extent we must admit that we failed this challenge, although examples of successes can be identified of course from around the country.

From the mid 1980s onwards, the Industrial Studies tutors at Leeds embarked on a number of activities that, at least within the region, attempted to minimize the separation of the 'passive knowledge experts' (safely located within the college or the university) from the 'active' members (located outside the educational institution). Common to all the initiatives was the attempt to integrate the resources and expertise available within a university more closely with the daily concerns of the trade union.

Seminars on requested issues for full-time officers in the region were resurrected. (There had been a trade union seminar series of this type in the 1970s.) Involving various sympathetic tutors from across the university, the seminars provided the basis for discussing and identifying current and future industrial relations issues of importance. 'Staff development' seminars for full-time officers were organized with TGWU, MSF and USDAW. In USDAW's case the Department was invited to develop these seminars throughout the country in 1989. Underpinning all the seminars was the view that knowledge, analysis and strategic discussion, within a supportive framework, were an essential part of a full-time officer's job. Secondly, we believed strongly that such partnerships should include research. Confidence and skills in investigatory tasks should be a concern for all active trade unionists. Examples of membership research work occurred at Leeds throughout the 1980s. Organized primarily in the evenings, groups of busworkers, railworkers and shopworkers showed the possibilities of integrating research skills with the learning process.[9] In 1991, a residential three-day conference on 'Research as Engagement: An International Conference on Developing Relationships Between Trade Unions and Research Organisations' brought together trade unionists and researchers from eight different countries to examine examples of collaborative research processes through twenty-eight case study experiences.[10] Strengthening the still fragile links around collaborative epistemologies and practices will remain a central concern of Industrial Studies in the years ahead. In June 1994, the Department jointly hosted the follow-up conference in Lund, Sweden and in 1996 is helping to organize the Austrian Conference. Meanwhile a 'Trade Union and Research Network' Bulletin is distributed regularly to some three hundred interested parties throughout the world.

Joint applications by the universities of Leeds and Bradford, together with the Regional TUC, to the forerunner of the local Training and Enterprise Council in 1987 resulted in sufficient funding to appoint a research fellow to investigate trade union responses to new technology.[11] A further joint application by Leeds and USDAW to the Distributive Industries Training Trust (DITT) in 1992 resulted in sufficient funding for a three-year appointment to investigate the vocational training experiences and aspirations of USDAW members in the retail sector.[12]

The research activities begun with the Regional TUC and with the Research Department of MSF in the early 1990s are shaped by similar objectives. In these examples, however, the research role is shared with other interested colleagues in the University's Centre for Industrial Policy and Performance (CIPP). Developing collaborative research activities and functions with labour organizations that involve colleagues from other university departments remains an important part of Industrial Studies' current work.

A third feature of the Industrial Studies programme, aimed at integrating more closely the resources within a university with the needs and concerns of trade unions and their members, was the development of a national networking function in particular areas. Organizing national conferences, often with a third or more of the participants from outside Britain, provided a means for examining and sharing experiences, developing formal and informal linkages and creating a legitimate political and educational space for a particular type of work. The conference on work with the unemployed[13] involved case-studies from North America and parts of Europe and involved numerous users' from the Unemployed Workers' Centres in Britain.[14] A similar format was employed for the 1991 'collaborative research work with trade unions' conference.[15]

Broadening the links between unions and universities also entails broadening the collective bargaining agenda. The merging in 1992 of the Department's community education work, formerly organized in the 'Pioneer Work' section, with the Industrial Studies work was acknowledging the need for a greater cross-fertilization between labour agencies and community audiences. Closer working relationships had developed in previous years amongst staff from these two sections, especially in work with the unwaged. The creation of the Community and Industrial Studies (CIS) section was designed, however, to encourage innovative developments that bridged the workplace and the community. There was, similarly, a desire to broaden the industrial studies agenda to include issues not currently prioritized by labour organizations.. A two-year Universities Funding Council project on workplace learning[16] was followed by an international conference, again with examples of different learning models from several countries. Workplace learning, whether of a vocational nature (the USDAW retail research) or non-job-related nature (the UFC research), is an area that trade unionists can explore critically and discuss through participation in the research process.[17]

A final illustration of the Department's contribution to the learning agendas of trade unions is the area of developmental work. Although efforts and resources are focused primarily, and quite correctly, on leadership training of lay officers and in encouraging lay members to become lay officers, there have been exceptions to this general trend, notably, NUPE's 'Return to Learn' initiative. In 1993, the Leeds Department was commissioned by MSF to develop and pilot an 'independent learning' programme for its lay membership. Comprising six university-accredited modules to be completed over a period of approximately two years and participation in two two-day workshops per year, the 'Getting Started with MSF' course represents an exciting new initiative of national significance. Encouraging mass membership learning and activity in the wider community as well as in the workplace, it represents a significant attempt to reverse the current trends and direction of most trade union education. While labour market issues will remain as the central focus in trade union education, addressing the needs of those members unwilling to become lay officers remains an unexplored and increasingly urgent issue. 'Getting Started with MSF' was piloted in session 1994/95 and will be offered to the entire membership in 1996.

This discussion has illustrated a variety of initiatives undertaken from the mid 1980s to the mid 1990s that attempted to challenge the general downward drift of the education function within labour organizations. As trade unions grapple to make sense of the changing world in the 1990s, so too must university departments working with labour organizations. While we at Leeds have managed to maintain and extend our teaching links into the 1990s with the TGWU, MSF, USDAW and Unison, we have realized that these activities need to be supplemented by proactive strategies for research and consultancy partnerships with trade unions. The problem for trade unions and industrial studies tutors throughout the country has not been one of better educational publicity, of 'selling the product more effectively', or of changes in the curriculum: rather, it has been a problem of the type of organization trade unions need and want to become in the years ahead. In our view, education has a key role to play in the emerging, changed trade union organization of the 1990s and beyond.

The spectre of accreditation

Finally, brief mention should be made of the current drive towards the accreditation of continuing education as far as it affects trade union education. Early discussions with TGWU, MSF and Unison suggest an optimistic and positive strategy of integrating University of Leeds accredited learning modules into the core education provision of the unions' own programmes, both within the region and elsewhere throughout the country. Recognizing that individual learning advancement need not be in tension with collective aims focused on social change, represents an important change in union thinking. The implications flowing from such a recognition are far reaching. While much of our provision will continue to be non-accredited learning, the new accredited modules will play an increasingly important part in our future partnerships with trade unions.

Conclusion

A fifteen-year period, when reviewing Leeds's Industrial Studies work, seems a very, very long time. Many colleagues from around the country have moved to other areas of work and several centres have disappeared altogether. The challenge has not simply been a challenge to working-class education, but rather to the very existence of trade unions.

Despite the fundamental problems experienced by trade unions over the

1980s and early 1990s, and the consequent reduction in trade union education provision by universities, considerable resources and experience are still committed to this work. The storm has been weathered and there are good reasons for optimism for the remaining years of the 1990s and beyond. At Leeds, the Industrial Studies section in the Department has managed, in difficult circumstances, to sustain a broad-based educational programme of work in the region and, increasingly, at a national level. In 1993/94 this work accounted for some sixty to seventy full-time-equivalent students or some 180,000 student contact hours. Much of the responsibility—and the credit—for maintaining such a comparatively large programme lies with the industrial studies tutors active in the Department through the 1980s and early 1990s. These included Derek Fatchett, Keith Forrester, Andy Khan, Paul Lewis, Andy Morgan, Trevor Park, Bruce Spencer, Marie Stinson, Colin Thorne and Ruth Winterton. We are confident that the Department will continue its commitment of more than forty years' standing to provide learning opportunities for trade unionists in the region.

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10

E. P. Thompson and the Making of *The Making of the English Working Class*

David Goodway

> 'I have also learned a great deal from members of my tutorial classes, with whom I have discussed many of the themes treated here.'

So Edward Thompson acknowledges in the preface to *The Making of the English Working Class*,[1] and what this chapter examines is the extent to which that great book grew out of his day-to-day work for the Department.

Edward Palmer Thompson was appointed in 1948, at the age of 24, as a staff tutor in the then Department of Extramural Studies. He lived in Halifax and worked for the Department until he left for the new University of Warwick and its Centre for the Study of Social History in 1965. (He was promoted to Senior Lecturer in 1962 and to Reader in Social History in 1964).

His time as an undergraduate at Cambridge had been interrupted by three years' service as a tank commander in North Africa and Italy. On his return he took a first in Part One of the History Tripos in 1946 and this, under wartime regulations, allowed him a degree; but he remained at Cambridge for another year (1946/47) of independent study, in English literature and social history (mainly Elizabethan).

When he applied for the post of staff tutor in 1948 he offered to lecture not only in history, but also in political science, international relations and English literature. Of the last he wrote: 'I have no qualifications to lecture in this subject. However … it has long been my chief interest, both in my attempts as a practising writer and as a field of study …'[2] In the event, for the first three years after his appointment all his classes were in literature. Then, in 1951/52, he taught two history as well as two literature classes. The proportion of history to literature fluctuated over the following ten years (four history to one literature in 1954/55, for example). Yet in each of the three years 1959–62, the period when he was writing *The Making of the English Working Class*, he taught three literature classes and only one in history. Most of the courses were three-year tutorial classes. Each staff tutor took four or five classes every winter; Thompson generally taught only four evenings, but in two years (1953/54 and 1954/55) this rose to five.

> This book was written in Yorkshire, and is coloured at times by West Riding sources.[3]

Although the extramural area reached north as far as Teesside, Thompson's classes were overwhelmingly located in the old West Riding and principally in the textile region (roughly present-day West Yorkshire). So he had classes which lasted between one and four years in Ossett, Batley, Cleckheaton, Shepley,[4] Bingley, Todmorden, Keighley, Leeds, Halifax and Morley. Outside, but still in the West Riding, were Hemsworth and Harrogate. In the North Riding were Northallerton and, in Cleveland, Middlesbrough and, but only after *The Making* had been written, Brotton.

Central to this activity were Batley, Cleckheaton and Halifax. A four-year literature class in Batley (1948–53) was followed by a three-year history class (1953–55); and after an interval of a year another three-year class in literature ran (1956–59). At Cleckheaton three years in literature (1948–51) were succeeded by two years in history (1951–53). Although he lived in Halifax he did not teach there until 1954, when he began a three-year tutorial in history which lasted until 1957; and he had another three-year tutorial there, 1959–62, in literature (and began a second literature class in 1963, the autumn that *The Making* was published).

When R. W. Harris wanted 'a textbook on the British labour movement, 1832 to 1945' for 'The Men and Ideas Series', intended for sixth-formers and university students, and which he was editing for Victor Gollancz, he approached John Saville. Saville declined, but recommended Thompson. Thompson suggested 1790 as the starting date; and because, as he admitted, 'I was hard up', in August 1959 a contract was signed for a book on 'Working-Class Politics, 1790–1921', to be 'approximately 60,000 words in length'. *The Making* was the result and is 'the first chapter of such a book'. By 1960 the period of the textbook was envisaged as 1790–1906. Thompson then also announced, as 'work in progress', 'Various Studies in West Riding

19th Century History'. (For two years, 1957–59, he had had a substantially reduced teaching programme to begin work on 'a social and political history of the West Riding'.) The two projects clearly fused and emerged, radically transformed, as *The Making of the English Working Class.*[5]

In the Preface to the 1980 edition of that work he comments: 'looking back, I am puzzled to know when and how the book got itself written, since in 1959–62 I was also heavily engaged in the work of the first New Left, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and so on'. As he complained to Raphael Samuel in December 1961:

> I also have six classes, plus additional teaching for hospital administrators (nine classes this week) plus being on four Department Committees, plus three children who keep having Guy Fawkes and birthdays, plus a miraculous growth of YCND and CND in Halifax this past two months—which after so many dead years we can't just ignore (from nought to 150 for YCND in two months!)—plus the correspondence of Chairing a Board [of the *New Left Review*] you may have heard of. My only affinity to Marx is that I get boils in my neck.[6]

'The writing' of *The Making*, he explained in 1980

> was only possible because some part of the research had already been laid down during the previous ten years in the course of my work as a tutor in extramural classes in the West Riding. Discussion in these classes, as well as practical political activity of several kinds, undoubtedly prompted me to see the problems of political consciousness and organisation in certain ways.[7]

Thompson's history classes were on 'The Social and Industrial History of England'. The structure was: first year, 1780–1848; second year, 1848–1900; third year, 1900–50. By the second time they were repeated (at Halifax and Northallerton in 1954/55) the opening date had been pushed back to 1750, although the first year was still to conclude in 1848. But the first year of a class in Keighley the preceding session had only reached 1832; and thereafter the period of the first year was fixed as 1750–1832 and the second year as 1832–1880, although the third year still came up to the present day.

By the second repeat at Keighley, 1953/54, the syllabus opened with this preamble:

> This three-year course will deal with the life of the British people—their work, their leisure, their struggles for political freedom, industrial rights, and knowledge—from the eighteenth century to the present day. Special attention will be given to the social and industrial changes in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and

> to the growth of the working-class movement—trade unions, co-operatives, and political and educational societies: but the life of all classes in all parts of Britain will also be discussed. From time to time, aspects of the art, literature, and political and economic thought of each period will be discussed.
>
> It is not necessary to have any previous knowledge of history to join the class. Anyone with a serious interest in the subject will be able to keep up with the work, provided that he or she is ready to observe three conditions:
>
> 1. To attend regularly the 24 weekly meetings (between September and April) each year.
> 2. To read each week at least one chapter (and more if possible) of the books suggested by the Tutor.
> 3. To write, from time to time, comments or brief essays on aspects of the subject which interest them . . .
>
> While allowance is made for the difficulties of members of the class (overtime, illness, other commitments, etc), these conditions are laid down by a firm tradition in tutorial classes, in order to make sure that the work is really enjoyable and worthwhile. The aim of the class is not to provide a series of lectures, followed by questions, but to engage in the co-operative study and discussion of problems which concern us all, and upon which every member of the class will have some special knowledge or viewpoint.

The reading lists were unimpressive. Cole and Postgate's *The Common People* provided the basic reading throughout—although described by Thompson in a class report as merely of 'some use to students wanting a sort of railway guide to events'[8]—and was the text most frequently recommended for weekly preparation. But then *The Making of the English Working Class* had yet to be published!

The subject matter of the syllabuses was always more distinctive. By Leeds in 1959—and the beginning of the writing of *The Making*—the syllabus afforded a partial outline of the book completed more than three years later.

> In the first year we will be engaged in the study of the period 1750 to 1832. This course is designed to do the following things: (a) There will be general lectures on major trends and events in social, political and industrial history in Britain during these years; (b) There will be closer discussion of the dominant political and (to a less extent) religious ideas and controversies of the time, linked to selected texts; (c) There will be more detailed study of certain movements and events in the West Riding of Yorkshire, taking—where possible—examples from the Leeds region.
>
> Any members of the class who can find time to do some additional research into local history will be encouraged to bring their results into the general work of the class.

The course will probably develop along the following lines:

i. *Eighteenth-Century England*
The structure of English society in the second half of the eighteenth century. Population, and the revolution in agriculture. Religious controversy and the Wesleyan movement.
Special Yorkshire Topic: Religious controversy and Methodism in the West Riding.

ii. *French Revolution and English Reform*
The various sections of the people working for political Reform. The impact of the French Revolution. Agitation for Reform, and repression.
Political Theory: Rousseau, *Social Contract*; Paine, *Rights of Man*; Burke, *Reflections upon the French Revolution.*

Special Yorkshire Topic: Rev. Christopher Wyvill and the Yorkshire Reformers of the 1780s; the Sheffield Corresponding Society and the Leeds Constitutional Society of the 1790s.

iii. *The Industrial Revolution*
Population, agriculture and industry. Cotton and exports. Coal, iron and steam power.

Special Yorkshire Topic: Change in the Woollen and Worsted Industries.

iv. *Some Intellectual and Social Consequences of Industrialism*
Political Theory: Extracts from Adam Smith; Malthus; Bentham; Cobbett; Robert Owen; the Romantic Poets.

Special Yorkshire Topic: The Luddite Movement in West Yorkshire.

v. *England in the 1820s*
A general survey of social life after Peterloo. The struggle for the Reform Bill of 1832.

Yorkshire Topics:
a) Early working conditions in Yorkshire mills and pits.
b) The role of Baines and the *Leeds Mercury* in the struggle for the 1832 Reform Bill.

Who constituted the student body in these classes? The proportion of manual workers in tutorial classes was declining, while members of the lower middle class and teachers were much in evidence. The 1954/55 departmental statistics give a breakdown of enrolments in Thompson's classes which is reproduced in the table on page 138 following. Since the only other occupational categories allowed are 'not in paid work' and 'unknown', 'non-manual workers' must conflate working-class and middle-class jobs. This is borne out by Thompson's description of the students at Northallerton as

E. P. Thompson: Classes and Students, Session 1954/55				
	Batley	**Halifax**	**Keighley**	**N'allerton**
Total in class	12	19	16	13
Manual workers	6	5	2	1
Non-manual workers	2	9	10	6
Teachers	1	1	1	–
Professional workers	1	–	–	–
Housewives	2	3	3	4

'largely made up of civil servants, housewives, retired persons (including two active in the Conservative Party) and "white-collar" workers'.[9]

Thompson's pen portraits of class membership are more revealing than the statistical returns. So Batley in 1953 had 'two doctors, housewives, a textile worker, printer, painter, saw-mill manager, rag, wool, and waste merchant, post office engineer, clerical worker, and head teacher'.[10] Of Todmorden in 1951/52 he commented: 'The class members vary from a station-master with a degree in economics to two manual workers, and include an administrator in education who has been in his time a miner, a textile worker, and a schoolmaster'. At Leeds in 1959/60 the occupations were 'satisfactorily diverse, ranging from University Teacher to Crane Driver, Centre-lathe Turner to Typist … Civil Servant, Teacher, Shop Assistant, Motor Engineer'.[11]

Despite the presence of two Conservatives at Northallerton most of the students seem to have been Labour supporters, many of these active party members, including councillors. There was at least one Communist—one of the doctors at Batley, who was a Czech *émigré*. Not a few were prominent in the peace movement of the early 1950s and then in CND and the New Left (Left Clubs were formed for the West Riding, meeting in Leeds, at Bradford, at Harrogate and on Teesside). Prominent among these militants were Dorothy and Joe Greenald, to whom *The Making of the English Working Class* is dedicated. Students in the literature class at Cleckheaton, 1948–51, and then in the history class, 1951–53, they were expelled from the Labour Party for membership of the proscribed Yorkshire Federation of Peace

Organisations; they were very briefly in the Communist Party; they were two of six persons responsible for the administration of the *New Reasoner* (Joe Greenald was the treasurer); and they were lifelong, close friends of Edward and Dorothy Thompson.[12]

Not all the activism—and experience—was contemporary. In the Batley history class one of the members, then 'in his late seventies', was 'the first ILP Councillor in Batley (1906)' and in 1954/55 he gave 'a most exciting and informative talk ... on the problems and controversies of local government in Batley between 1906 and 1914'. The following year he was invited to the Keighley class to give 'a reminiscent lecture ... which was tape-recorded'.[13] Also at Batley, and still within living memory, was the description by a significantly older man and fervent Gladstonian of 'his speech at the School Board election of 1877'.[14]

One or two of the class members were able to provide indirect, but personal, links to the period and subject matter of *The Making*. At Cleckheaton the great-grandfather of a student had been named Feargus O'Connor (Ewart) after the Chartist leader.[15] At Batley in 1953 another 'revealed herself in the last evening to have been a lifelong collector of old songs and ballads'; and in his report Thompson quoted in full an example taken down 'fifteen or twenty years ago' from 'a blind workhouse inmate (who thought the song "Chartist")', but which he judged plausibly as 'an early (eighteenth century?) song—possibly sung at primitive trade-union ceremonies'.[16]

In ways such as these Thompson would have felt very close to the years of the Industrial Revolution; and they would be reinforced by the semi-rural character and primitive technology (which still survive today) of much of West Yorkshire.[17] So of Morley in 1963/64 he was to observe, after the publication of *The Making*:

> Within living memory ... it seems, miners have worked lying down in eighteen inch seams, children have been in the mills at the age of nine, urine has been collected from pub urinals for scouring, while the brother of one of the students still uses teazles to raise the 'nap'. It is difficult to believe that the industrial revolution has yet occurred in Morley, and next year's syllabus (in the later 19th century) will seem like a tour through the space age.

But Thompson's students did not contribute to his historical understanding solely by reminiscence. They were also encouraged to engage in research of some kind. Of Batley in 1953 he enthused:

> In sum … this class began to show signs of becoming what I had once dreamed a tutorial class in industrial Yorkshire could be like—but which I had never before begun to experience. Students have followed their own interests in their reading, and have not been afraid of original sources: a clerk working in local government has studied reports of the Poor Law Commissioners: a doctor prepared notes on the medical evidence in Dr. Thackrah's study of Leeds (after saying he could not *possibly* find time for written work): a merchant did some detailed reading in Burnley's *History of Wool and Woolcombing* and in other nineteenth-century [treatises] on technical innovations in textile machinery: my copies of such books as Fielden's *Curse of the Factory System*, Bamford's *Life*, the trial of Hunt (after Peterloo), and Dodd's *Letters on the Factory System* have been eagerly read. At one time I loaned out some instalments of Wade's *Black Book*, and five students prepared interventions for class discussion from them, ranging from the abuses of the East India Company to the misgovernment of Charitable Institutions and the Expense of the Established Clergy. All were surprised at the interest of the documents, and the ease with which they could be read.[18]

Two students are acknowledged by name in the preface to *The Making of the English Working Class*, among eleven people who 'have helped me at different points': the others include Perry Anderson, Richard Cobb, Henry Collins, E. P. Hennock, John Rex, Rex Russell and Eric Sigsworth.[19] Both of the students wrote essays, for direct entry to Cambridge, on key topics of reinterpretation in *The Making*.

Oliver Swift from Batley produced a 'very good paper' ('The Yorkshire Luddites of 1812'), 'which introduced some new and interesting theories'.[20] Swift, in his concluding section, 'The Political Motives of the Luddites', took seriously the books of Frank Peel and the other local late-Victorian writers, and attempted, sketchily, to situate Luddism in a context of English Jacobinism, suggesting, for example, that 'some croppers … were Painites, or even members of the "United Englishmen"'.[21]

Derrick Crossley, a member of the 1948–51 literature class at Cleckheaton (and also in Jack Prichard's rival economic and social history class) was helped to produce his essay on 'The Handloom Weavers in the Industrial Revolution', which won him the Cambridge Extramural Scholarship in 1951. Crossley was, in Dorothy Thompson's judgement, one of the best students Edward Thompson ever had—at Leeds or Warwick; indeed he was enlisted for the 'intense experience' of 'a week of research' in London with Thompson for *William Morris: Romantic to revolutionary*. Born in 1925, the son of weavers, he himself was a laboratory assistant. For his work on the handloom weavers:

> Over a period of 3–4 months at the end of 1950 I made an effort that I have not equalled since. I was in weekly contact with Edward during that period by attending his class. How much of what I did was genuinely my own idea and how much came from his prompting I will never know. However, he was pleased with the result though he said it was but a beginning that I should continue later. Unfortunately, I was never in a position to do so, but that doesn't matter because Edward took over the best of it.[22]

Edward Thompson naturally made an indelible impact on his students: 'I was struck by his sheer enthusiasm, also a little bit awed by his undoubted intellect, which combined with his humour, and his articulate and graphic method of expression, made his classes fascinating.' And another recalled: 'The mixture of students, old, young, verbose, garrulous, set the stage for an evening—unpredictable—exciting, anything could happen.'[23] Derrick Crossley concludes:

> There is no doubt in my mind that Edward was exceptional. His sustained enthusiasm; his sharp eye for flannel, hypocrisy; his enormous energy; and his sympathetic (empathetic?) approach to the limited intellectual experience of his students—all these characteristics made it clear, despite his middle-class mannerisms, that he had a serious purpose and he was not patronising anyone.[24]

Edward Thompson's classes were not a one-sided process, not simply from a tutor of outstanding gifts to his students. They consisted of a genuine two-way interaction, which led him to conclude that 'the dynamic of the tutorial class movement has been derived … from a fruitful conflict or interplay between the scholarship of the universities on the one hand, and the experience and social dynamic of the students on the other', that 'universities engage in adult education not only to teach but also to learn'—as undoubtedly he had himself.[25]

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6 Letter to Ralph Samuel, 1 December 1961 (for a copy of which I am grateful to Dorothy Thompson).

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8 Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Reports on Classes, Cleckheaton, 1951/52.

9 Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, Reports on Classes, Northallerton, 1954/55. The 'retired persons' included a former grammar-school master and a doctor, Reports on Classes, Northallerton, 1956/57.

10 Reports on Classes, Batley, 1952/53.

11 Ellipsis in the original duplicated report.

12 I am indebted to Dorothy Greenald for this and other information—and much encouragement.

13 Reports on Classes, Batley, 1954/55; Keighley, 1955/56.

14 Reports on Classes, Batley, 1953/54.

15 Letter from Ann [Margaret Pyrah] to Dorothy Greenald, nd [3 September 1993].

16 Reports on Classes, Batley, 1952/53.

17 See Glyn Hughes, 'Withering Heights', *Observer Magazine*, 30 May 1993, for the Calder Valley as it remains in the 1990s.

18 Reports on Classes, Batley, 1952/53. See also Batley, 1953/54; Hemsworth, 1956/57.

19 *The Making of the English Working Class*, 13. Denis Butt and Tim Enright make up the eleven.

20 Reports on Classes, Batley, 1953/54.

21 I am grateful to Oliver Swift for his memories and the loan of his essay. See E. P. Thompson, 'Introduction to the Fourth Edition', Frank Peel, *The Risings of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug-Drawers* (Frank Cass, 1968).

22 Letters from Derrick Crossley, 6 October, 6, 30 November, 1993; Departmental Archive, letter from Thompson to S. G. Raybould, 20 December 1950; Reports on Classes, Cleckheaton, 1950/51; conversation with Dorothy Thompson, 14 November 1993. In the Foreword to *William Morris* it is acknowledged that 'Mr Derek [sic] Crossley undertook some research in London on my behalf' (Lawrence and Wishart, 1955), 8.

23 Letter from Iris Inesome to Dorothy Greenald, nd [August 1992]. This was written for Peter Searby when he was researching his excellent contribution to 'Edward Thompson as a teacher: Yorkshire and Warwick', in J. Rule and R. Malcolmson (eds), *Protest and Survival: The historical experience. Essays for E. P. Thompson* (Merlin Press, 1993), 1–17.

24 Letter of 6 November 1993.

25 'Against "University" standards: Comments upon the reflections of Messrs Baxandall, Shaw, and McLeish', *Adult Education Papers* (University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies) 1:4 (July 1950), 18; *Education and Experience*, Albert Mansbridge Memorial Lecture (Leeds University Press, 1968), 23.

11

Walthamstow, Little Gidding and Middlesbrough: Edward Thompson the Literature Tutor

Andy Croft

> 'Most of living is driving through fog to badly attended classes to give ill-prepared lectures.' (Edward Thompson to Randall Swingler, 22 January 1959)

Over a period of sixteen years, between 1948 and 1965, Edward Thompson taught extramural classes in literature for the Department—in Batley, Bingley, Cleckheaton, Halifax, Harrogate, Leeds, Middlesbrough, Morley, Ossett and Shepley (as well as single lectures, day-schools, weekend schools and summer schools). For the first three sessions , all Thompson's classes were in literature; there was no time when he was not teaching at least one literature class.[1]

On the whole, Thompson's literature courses seem to have been conventional enough for their time, at least on paper. Always working with a WEA branch, and usually beginning with a preparatory year, he worked with the same students for a period of three or four years, negotiating the next year's syllabus with the class according to their interests and his sense of their developing critical abilities and of their collective capacity for reading. Wide-ranging, ambitious and suggestive, his classes typically alternated between close textual study and synoptic sweeps around those nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century texts that were already becoming canonical in adult education—*Wuthering Heights*, *Hard Times*, *Mary Barton*, *Jude the Obscure*, Owen and Lawrence. Apart from some classes in Elizabethan literature, his courses were devoted, on the whole, to the study of poetry and fiction; the only playwrights he appears to have taught were O'Casey, Synge, Galsworthy, Auden and—later—Wesker, although most classes studied a Shakespeare play, usually as an introduction to literary study.

One of his first classes was in Bingley in 1949/50 where, the syllabus announced, 'the central theme will be an examination of various aspects of the writer's technique and of the use of literary criticism':

> We will first discuss the problems raised in selected passages of prose and individual poems. We will then follow these problems in a discussion of two or three novels. And finally we will study a few important poems and passages of prose and criticism written during the period in which the industrial society of today was coming into being.

Thompson's frequent aim was to draw the attention of the class to issues of creativity, subjectivity and responsibility. After considering 'the materials of literature'

> Various meanings of words—advertisements, headlines, speeches. Scientific precision and poetic precision. Rhythm, imagery, and music. Judgements of value—subjective and technical use and limitations of criticism. The facts which are relevant to a study of literature and the facts with which we are not concerned …

the course moved through 'a brief discussion of the social function of literature' (looking at early ballads, Marvell, Owen and Yeats) to 'a discussion of the amount of selection and control the writer imposes on his material in the novel form' (*Wuthering Heights* and *Hard Times*) concluding with a look at poetry by Blake, Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley, criticism by Wordsworth, Shelley, Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt, an 'examination of the "romantic movement" in outline' and a detailed study of Keats.

The tutor fell down badly

Most of Thompson's courses relied on this kind of grand and eclectic approach, impressively—and impossibly—ambitious in trying to balance his own enthusiasms with those of his students and with his perception of the needs of the class. The third year of his Middlesbrough class in 1955/56, for example, aimed to cover 'Shakespeare and King Lear', (looking at Marlowe and Jonson on the way), 'The European Novel' (Cervantes, Fielding, Flaubert, Dostoievsky, Tolstoy), and 'Recent English Literature'—all in twenty-four weeks. The first three evenings of 'Aspects of Elizabethan Literature' in Bingley in 1951/52 required students to read *Utopia*, *Everyman* and poetry by Spencer, Wyatt and Sydney (with Drake's *The World Encompassed*, *Don Quixote* and *The Prince* as further reading); by the fourth week they were discussing *The Chester Pageant of the Deluge* and *Tamburlaine*:

Dr Faustus and Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* by week seven; after a lecture on the Elizabethan theatre in week eight, the course settled down to a closer study of Marlowe (including *Hero and Leander*, *Edward II* and—as a contrast—*Richard II*), Bacon, Nashe and Donne, before accelerating off again through *The Alchemist*, *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, *Volpone* ...

Thompson soon realized he was expecting too much of his students. In Cleckheaton in 1951/52 he felt he had lectured too much:

> students were reluctant to make judgements on questions on which they felt they were insufficiently informed: or informed only at second-hand by the tutor: they were provided with too few opportunities to grapple with material and work out the essentials for themselves, in writing and discussion.

Even he had difficulty with the reading for the fourth year of his Batley class in 1951/52 on 'European Literature'—*Don Quixote*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Tom Jones*, *Madame Bovary*, *The Idiot*, and *The Brothers Karamazov* (with background texts by Chaucer, Rabelais, Nashe, Bunyan, Defoe, Richardson, Sterne, Smollett and Voltaire) all 'sandwiched in between *Antony and Cleopatra* at the beginning, and a couple of evenings of William Morris at the end'.

> Since the tutor fell down badly on the programme he had set himself, there is no wonder that most of the class lagged very far behind ... there were moments in the year when both tutor and students began to find this cross-country race rather heavy going ...

This is typical of his early class reports, where he catalogued with touching frankness his frustrations and disappointments. 'It has been hard work keeping this class alert and interested', he wrote of his first year at Shepley in 1948/49, 'while at the same time persuading the students to carry on work of a satisfactory standard'.

> Several of them remain responsive only to a very narrow range of literature: they are confused by any unorthodox or frank approach to personal or sexual morality: one persists in praising Warwick Deeping and in referring to Shakespeare as 'high-brow stuff': the others are certainly happier with Mrs Gaskell or Galsworthy than with D. H. Lawrence or poetry of any description. The same students are puzzled and offended when presented with exercises and are happiest if the evening is made up of an hour's talkative lecture providing starting-points for a further hour of diffuse discussion on any subject under the sun—even (on occasions) literature.

He blamed his own inexperience 'in working out a satisfactory technique for studying the novel' for the failure of this class to respond to *Sons and Lovers*; as a result 'several students persisted until the end in isolating moral or political problems and discussing them irrespective of their context in the work under discussion'. Again, in Middlesbrough in 1954/55, he felt the responsibility for a disappointing year lay in his teaching of the novels on the syllabus.

> My own teaching has tended to be a bit dim this year, especially when dealing with the novels on the syllabus: on two occasions I did not find the time to thoroughly re-read the novels under discussion immediately prior to the class meetings (a necessity for fresh teaching) and reliance on recollections and two or three-year-old notes was no substitute.

If fiction was 'the form of literature which lends itself least readily to class discussion', teaching drama was not without its problems. At the end of his first year in Ossett he reported that he had made 'the serious mistake of giving in to the vocal demand for play-reading' from his women students, 'thus discouraging the students' private study of texts; few students attempted background reading, and the tutor's own background lectures seem, in retrospect, to have been sketchy and to have failed in enthusiasm'. This identification of a leisurely, provincial philistinism with women students is the most striking feature of his early class reports. In his first year at Shepley he found the class divided between

> a group of four or five men predominantly interested in political and social problems, and all active in the trade union and labour movement; and a slightly larger group of women, several of whom desired entertaining performances from the tutor (covering with equal authority the details of a writer's private life and questions of literary value) culminating in literary gossip in the discussion period.

To be fair, Thompson was equally dismayed by the attitude of the men in the class who 'persisted in regarding poetry as a luxury the labour movement could do without'. But his solution to the problem of the 'knitting and tea interval' in Ossett was to recruit more men, and he consciously planned the second year of his course in Bingley in 1950/51 with the hope of attracting more trade unionists, in order to 'redress the house-wife and professional bias' of the first year. And he was clearly disappointed by his first class in proletarian Middlesbrough:

> The class might almost equally have been held in Walthamstow, Little Gidding, or Middlesbrough, for all the special common experience, interests, or community sense to be found in the group. Two steelworkers (it is true) were on the provisional register: but, despite the friendly atmosphere of the class, they did not appear to be at home, and did not go beyond the sixth meeting … the tutor, who drove over eighty miles to the illuminated sky and glaring furnaces of the steel centres, found this disappointing …

Intolerable opinions

If Thompson spent a good deal of time in these years journeying in hope to Teesside, he also travelled a great deal back and forth between Little Gidding and Walthamstow, between T. S. Eliot and William Morris. They represented for him opposing ideas of poetry, as well as antagonistic visions of England. When Roy Shaw and Richard Hoggart ran a weekend school in 1951 on 'T. S. Eliot: Poet of Our Time', Thompson criticized their choice of title: 'while Mr Eliot may be a great poet (and in my opinion he is not) he is no longer a contemporary poet', urging the Department to vary its 'well-established Forster-Woolf-Joyce-Eliot-Yeats kind of menu'. But while his students were reluctant to study Morris (even during the years Thompson was writing the Morris book, Morris appears on the syllabus of only two courses), they usually expected Eliot on the syllabus. In Cleckheaton in 1950/51, where Eliot was offered as an example of 'Tradition and Reaction in Modern Literature', Thompson was pleased to report that the class had begun 'to yawn as evenings went by on "The Wasteland" ', complaining that they were 'spending too much time on a lifeless and pretentious document of literary history'. But there is little pleasure in teaching texts only to demonstrate a negative point; watching the class yawn cannot have brought him much satisfaction.

The critique of Eliot and the whole 'negative reaction' of modernism derived in part from his earlier involvement in the Communist Party Writers Group, where he met an older generation of communist poets like Edgell Rickword, Jack Lindsay and Randall Swingler.[2] Thompson contributed poetry and criticism to the Party's cultural journals *Our Time*, *Arena* and *Daylight*, and in 1951 Swingler invited him to review poetry for the *Daily Worker*. He occasionally read at poetry readings at Marx House, entered a long peace poem to the Festival of Britain poetry competition, and gave a splendidly anti-American paper in 1951 at the Party's conference on 'The

American Threat to British Liberty', invoking literature, communism and education in the name of 'life':

> In one of his first Socialist lectures, William Morris said: 'It is to stir you up not to be contented with a little that I am here tonight.' That is the job we have to do ... We must change people now, for that is the essence of our cultural work. And in this work, all the forces of health within society are on our side: all those who, in whatever way, desire a richer life ... all those indeed, who desire any life at all, can be won to our side if we take to them the message of life against that of the slaughter-house culture.'

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, poetry, communism and adult education were the three vectors of a busy working life, of which his work on Morris was the most sustained and successful expression. His interest in Morris had begun as a search for a way of interesting working-class students in literature. But it rapidly became an intervention in literary history, a political polemic and a (coded) contribution to the cultural debates inside the Communist Party. When he submitted a lengthy piece on Morris for *Arena*, Lindsay suggested he turn it into a booklet. Five years and 800 pages later, *William Morris: Romantic to revolutionary* was published, reclaiming Morris's early poetry and later politics—Sir Launcelot *versus* Mr Gradgrind, Mr Eliot, Mr Attlee (and Mr Stalin).

Considering the importance the Party placed upon literature as a front in the 'Battle of Ideas', it is perhaps surprising how rarely Thompson seems to have included contemporary writing in his courses. The only post-war novels he regularly taught were *The Heart of the Matter* (the key text then in the Party's demonization of Greene) and by way of contrast, Joyce Cary's anti-imperialist *Mister Johnson* (significantly, Orwell never appears). 'Literature and Politics in the Thirties', in the fourth year of the Bingley class in 1953/54, gave him the opportunity to introduce members of the class to Sholokov, Malraux, O'Casey, Steinbeck, Silone, Dos Passos, Gorki and Upton Sinclair. But the 'Battle of Ideas' in contemporary literature was already lost. Although his Bingley course in 1949/50 included two books of Marxist criticism, Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality* and Ralph Fox's *The Novel and the People*, set beside three titles by Richards, two by Day Lewis, two from the Leavises and Forster's *Aspects of the Novel*, they must have looked distinctly vulnerable (particularly in a Preparatory year)—rare and already obsolete products of a stunted tradition of native Marxist literary criticism.

And there are limits to the books that even the most inspiring of tutors can persuade their students to read. In Cleckheaton in 1950/51 Thompson reported a difficult and frustrating year, even the best students 'polite but indifferent spectators' until they read *The Star Turns Red*. At this point the class 'touched rock bottom', suddenly 'united in their judgement that (however admirable O'Casey's intentions and experimentation might be) the mouthfuls of assorted rhetoric, symbolism and naturalism would not come to life'. The third year of Thompson's Shepley class in 1950/51 studied 'Literature and Democracy', a literary version of the British Road to Socialism—from *Utopia*, *Henry IV* and *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, through *Samson Agonistes*, *Gulliver's Travels*, Crabbe and Goldsmith, to Bamford, Cooper, Mrs Gaskell and Carlyle and 'the objective conditions of modern literature'. Meetings, however, were soon down to an average of only five students …

Against university standards

By the early 1950s literature had become a key site of ideological conflict between (and within) the two blocs, in which the enemy had claimed the high moral ground by insisting—paradoxically, of course—that literature was not ideological. The idea quickly took root in adult education (Raybould's *University Standards in W.E.A. Work* was published in 1948). So in 1950 Thompson wrote a ten-thousand-word polemic 'Against "University" Standards', ridiculing a theory which, he argued, 'would permit university domination to stifle the independent voluntary dynamic of the W.E.A.' For Thompson, 'the dynamic of the tutorial class movement' derived, not from the university's intellectual 'standards' but from 'a fruitful conflict or interplay between the scholarship of the universities on the one hand, and the experience and social dynamic of the student on the other'. In particular, he scorned the idea that 'university standards' should seek the cultivation of a civilized 'tolerance' in the tutorial class as an end in itself:

> There may be other dispositions or attitudes—compassionate, or militant, generous or spontaneous—equally desirable (or more appropriate) in certain circumstances. At the present moment, for instance, having just returned from a May Day meeting at which I was (without any kind of provocation) roughly ridden against and harried by mounted police, I am disposed to welcome a militant attitude on the part of the people in defence of traditional liberties …

His account of 'tolerance' as 'a typical form of class indoctrination' was a classic Marxist one, recognizing that it was of course 'desirable for the ruling class that the working class should be tolerant in the face of injustice or exploitation'. In such 'times of social, human, division' it was, he argued, impossible for any tutor to be 'fully responsive to intolerable opinions'. He admitted his own sense of 'inadequacy and bias' when treating 'certain uncongenial writers or the views of Catholic critics' in his classes. Nevertheless he felt sure that it was not in his literature classes that 'objectivity' was sacrificed most often to ideology:

> As a communist, I cannot fail to be aware that there exist terminal classes—indeed tutorials—in which little attempt is made—through the presentation of facts, the consideration of texts, and the dialectics of discussion—to give a fair presentation of views which are unpopular but exceedingly influential in their repercussions in the fields of Philosophy or International Relations or Economic Theory …

'Seeing both sides of the question', 'objectivity' and 'tolerance' were, he felt, particular temptations for literature tutors, who often encouraged a critical and intellectual numbness by treating students to 'appreciations' and 'descriptive panegyrics'. Inoculating students against literature damaged their ability to respond to the world from which it came. Literature tutors therefore had a special responsibility, not to disseminate 'culture', but to draw attention to the conditions of language, its uses and its misuses. Literature tutors who disagreed, he invited to leave the WEA and establish a BEA, or even a PBEA.

Too little rebellion

Pretending an easy-going 'impartiality' was unlikely to inspire the kinds of discussion and argument he felt characterized the most successful adult classes. For all its weaknesses, Thompson believed his class in Shepley in 1949/50 had 'one admirable characteristic which better classes lack':

> The students (mainly manual workers and housewives) show a sturdy independence, and maintain a kind of friendly aloofness towards the tutor—a confidence in their ability to make independent judgements and an eagerness to correct the tutor upon any matter upon which they feel themselves to be more expert.

This kind of critical independence was, he believed, one of the aims of adult education, and the key to the wider resonance of a class in the community, a belief which clearly sustained his energies and enthusiasm through the frustrations of even the most disappointing classes:

> It may be performing a more worthwhile function than a class of far higher standards, confining its membership to the professional section of a large centre of population. In the latter case the result may only be to encourage an intellectual elite ... Even if the going is hard and the results unspectacular, this sort of class must be kept alive ...

As Thompson admitted, the Shepley class was never going to reach the intellectual level expected by Raybould. The class was permitted to run for a second year, but three out of nine students did not complete any written work at all (one, who had no glasses, was forbidden by her doctor from even reading during the winter!); of the remaining six, two students submitted essays of less than five hundred words. One student—a sixty year old manual worker—had written an essay on *King Lear* which Thompson acknowledged would 'be so much waste paper within a university's walls':

> The result of several evenings' work, and of a great deal of thought and reading, re-reading and puzzling over difficult passages ... the first page is a record of false starts and every phrase is marked with painful effort: but if every student had produced work of the same standard in relation to his training and abilities, the tutor would have held this up as an exemplary class.

But the student population was changing, and if the reality of teaching WEA classes often fell short of 'University Standards', Thompson knew his own classes fell short of the arguments of 'Against University Standards' too. His greatest frustration was with the reluctance of students to enter into critical argument about the books they were reading. His Bingley class in 1951/52 was, he felt, 'too content to be taught':

> There is too little rebellion in the class ... It looks as if the whole course of the class might be run without one good earnest row between the students, and perhaps provocative methods will have to be taken in the final year ... to remind them that the study of literature can sting as well as soothe.

At the end of his first three-year tutorial class in Batley he confessed that his students still relied on him 'to help them read, criticise and think', lacking 'the self-confidence and independence to strike out on their own'. And experience is no guarantee of success. Six years later Thompson taught another class in Batley:

> Ages have ranged from 18 to 80: romantic non-conformity, post war couldn't-care-less-ism, and nineteenth century ultra-rationalism have grated against each other and refused to find points of contact. Whatever method the tutor has tried—exercises, analysis of poetry, the solid straight from the shoulder hour lecture, even the reading of one of Sheridan's plays to try to make the atmosphere chummy - there has always been some dissident section ostentatiously refusing to 'come in'.

By the end of 1959 there were only six students left of an initial enrolment of sixteen.

> The morale of the survivors ultimately declines. The morale of the tutor declines too, as he becomes aware of the way in which the sense of duty, and of personal obligation to himself, brings the loyal core to the class each week, rather than the satisfactions of the work itself. Teaching under these conditions can become very difficult.

By the late 1950s Thompson's Class Reports were less critical of his own teaching and more critical of the ways in which literature as an adult education subject seemed less a point of entry or of engagement with the contemporary world, more a retreat from it. His Batley class in 1956/57 contained younger and more middle-class students than his previous classes there, lacking, he regretted to say, 'the same earnest purposeful approach of the older tutorial students':

> Intelligent, sophisticated, immature in their outlook, it is interesting to find that these young teachers, who have themselves been taught in a Leavis-influenced tradition, have built-in responses antipathetic to all things 'romantic' ... A generation influenced by Kingsley Amis and St Colin Wilson will take some assimilating.

He was particularly dismayed by the continued resistance of classes to reading contemporary texts on the syllabus. In Morley in 1959/60 he found class discussions constantly slipping into other vocabularies:

> An attempt to introduce some post-war writing was only partially successful. The bad language in 'Roots' horrified several of the adult school people, and disabled them from discussing anything else: 'The Lord of the Flies' provoked more sustained attention, although it tended towards the merits and demerits of CND.

Worse, students in literature classes seemed increasingly to regard reading as a source of entertainment rather than an object of study. In Morley, Thompson struggled against 'a sense of philistinism pushed back towards the walls but likely to press back in at the least opportunity, a tendency to hang social or even local gossip on some literary peg and run away with irrelevancies in discussion'. When he began teaching in Harrogate in 1959/60, he found a class of twenty-eight students, many of whom had 'no experience of sustained study, and with the expectation of attending a series of lectures—at "university level"—which would combine the functions of intellectual stimulation and of a social occasion'.

> I decided to adopt a tougher policy than I would have dared at the usual class: actively to discourage the more dilettante students by setting standards high from the start, by selecting fairly difficult texts, and by dispensing almost altogether with lectures in favour of close textual discussion.

The result, he was pleased to announce, was a dramatic fall in the register to thirteen students, and on the sixth evening, a class mutiny; 'when I was slogging hard at an exercise taken from a contemporary newspaper, there was something like a rebellion from several class members who exclaimed indignantly that this was not what they had expected of a literature course'. Once they too had left, Thompson found himself with a 'first-rate class'. But teaching Hopkins in Harrogate was a long way from Morris's stirring-up against contentment, and one exceptional class could not lift Thompson's deepening dissatisfaction with his literature teaching (he did not recommend this approach for more 'traditional' classes in the West Riding). Nor could it compete with the satisfactions of teaching courses in which he was developing ideas for a new book. One of the first of these—in Batley—also began with a student mutiny. Faced with a combined course on the literature and social history of the nineteenth century, students from the previous year's literature class walked out in protest. The result was a class which, as is noted in David Goodway's chapter, 'began to show signs of becoming what I had once dreamed a tutorial class in industrial Yorkshire could be like—but which I had never before begun to experience'. By 1963, when *The Making of the English Working Class* was eventually published, he was teaching three classes in social history and only one in literature. Poetry was no longer the best weapon in the struggle against the charnel-house culture. Two years later he left adult education altogether.

Literature, in particular poetry and poetry-criticism, were to remain sites of pleasure, engagement and conflict for Thompson, providing a special kind of utterance to which he repeatedly returned. It was an arena of confrontation, a tool of social criticism, a badge of commitment, an expression of dissent, a defensive line, a bridgehead of cultural challenge, a special kind of code, a moral talisman, an infinitely powerful form of rhetoric, a place of retreat, and the source of a vision of the future that was always political but which also spoke against politics and beyond it. Among the many continuing arguments that defined a life of vigorous argument, his arguments on behalf of literature and his arguments within and against it, remained at the centre of his vision. And those arguments were crucially shaped by his experience of teaching literature at Leeds: not only in adult education, but in the tutorial class movement; not only as a tutor for the WEA, but as a Communist; and not only as a Communist but as one who was active in the debates about literature inside the Communist Party. Long after he had taken those arguments elsewhere they were still recognizably the arguments he had begun on the road between Walthamstow, Little Gidding and Middlesbrough.

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All the quotations from Thompson's Class Reports and Syllabuses are from papers held in the archives of the Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds. I wish to record my thanks to Tom Steele for his help in making these available, to Judy Swingler and Dorothy Thompson for permission to use the quotation in the epigraph, and to Dorothy Thompson for her encouraging and helpful comments on an earlier draft. A longer version of this chapter has appeared in *Socialist History*, no 8 (1995).

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5 Dorothy Thompson remembers her husband's amazement at the level of discussion in her classes. 'We decided it was because I was a woman, younger than most of the class, not very authoritative in my status, that they were prepared to wade in and criticise and also to volunteer their own judgements. He was very envious, but I think the point was that he was impressive as a speaker ... so that discussion in his classes was much more inhibited.' (Letter to the author, 10 August 1994).

12

The Departmental Contribution in the Fields of Criminal Justice and Penal Studies

Norman Jepson

From almost its very beginning, the Department has been involved in the fields of criminal justice and penal studies. It inherited the University's involvement in Prison Service staff training which dates from the mid 1930s; it pioneered the development of extramural courses in criminology initially directed primarily at the police; it was among the first university extramural departments to provide full-time professional training for Probation Officers and for many years it promoted courses for magistrates. This chapter will concentrate on the first two of these ventures, using them as examples of the challenges and changes which confronted the Department as it entered the fields of adult education with a vocational relevance. (The work with Probation Officers is considered in Chapter 13.)

Criminology: University Extension Certificate courses and the Police

It was an in-joke of the immediate post-war years that the three leading *English* criminologists were Mannheim, Radzinowicz and Grunhüt. It reflects, however, the fact that the birth and development of criminology as a distinct discipline in English universities dates from this relatively late period—a development in which the University of Leeds Extramural Department played a not insignificant part, particularly in its application to workers within the criminal justice field.

The first sustained Leeds criminology courses date from 1953 and were part of wider developments in university adult education—part of the 'new' university extension movement which aimed at a different student clientele from those sought after by the long-established joint tutorial classes; part of the growth of courses involving examinations and the award of certificates;

and part of the drive to attract members of particular occupational groups.

These initial criminology courses attracted an incredibly large student body, mainly (ninety-five per cent) drawn from the police forces in the West and North Ridings of Yorkshire. Astonishingly, some five hundred police officers expressed an interest in the proposed courses and eventually, in 1953, ten three-year, part-time courses were organized at eight different centres and just over three hundred students enrolled.[1] It is difficult, at this distance in time, to recapture and convey the excitement of those early years as the weekly meetings were supplemented by weekend conferences and the annual summer school at Oxford or Cambridge, at which criminology and penological issues of the day were critically examined—it was, for example, the period of the Wolfenden Committee report on homosexuality and the years when the question of the abolition of capital punishment was high on the political agenda. But side by side with the excitement of participating in a new discipline was the apprehension of 'conscripted' criminology lecturers as they watched their class numbers decline, particularly in the early stages of the course. Slightly less than one in three students completed these initial courses and qualified to sit the examinations. It was not all sweetness and light! Never again was there such an overwhelmingly large recruitment. But in the thirty or more years since then, there have been very few years in which one or more criminology courses were not recorded as being held. Meanwhile, the appeal of the subject extended to a wider audience than the police, to workers in most branches of criminal justice, and to the general public.

The university extension criminology courses were, from the outset, ones which offered students the opportunity to be assessed and if successful to be awarded a University Extension Certificate, and at least for a short (but stimulating) time an Advanced Certificate was also awarded for those who continued their study of of the subject. To date, just under two hundred criminology certificates have been awarded.[2]

Criminology was consequently caught up in the controversy about whether examinations were consistent with the ideals of liberal adult education and with the question as to whether the awards were of any real vocational value. A survey at the end of the 1960s, for example, suggested that students, including the police, came to be doubtful about the value of these university awards and that the University itself adopted an ambivalent stance using the certificate as a recruiting tool but denying the constraints of a 'vocational'/examination course. 'The extramural providers exploit vocational motives but are unwilling to accommodate themselves to vocational aspirations. The result is that their paper awards have, in practice if not in theory, a high degree of ambiguity.'[3]

Nevertheless, the award of criminology certificates lasted until at least the late 1980s and the subject of criminology has been listed as a module not only in the award of a certificate but in the programme leading to a part-time degree, in which the now Department of Adult Continuing Education plays an important role.

If the original extramural department's criminology courses were part of the wider movement of certificated courses, equally they were part of the related movement towards vocationally oriented study. The 21-Year Review of the Department's work refers to: the establishment of courses in conjunction with and specifically to meet the educational needs of organizations within the community.[4] This included work with the trade unions, the armed forces, hospital administration and workers in the field of criminal justice. Certainly, in the early days, the criminology courses fell at least marginally into this category. It was, for example, at the request of a local police force that initially a law course was held and that subsequently a broader-based criminology course was organized. The hope from the police point of view was that it would satisfy a need of those officers who had passed their formal sergeant and inspector examinations and yet had to wait several years for actual promotion. At the same time, some police authorities hoped that it would help to liberalize the prevailing police training system. A contributor to the *Police Review* spoke of the danger arising from the fact that 'purely Service requirements have moulded the [police training] courses into too technical a form. This had tended, paradoxically, to produce an emphasis on technical attainments at the very time we are talking about the broader qualities needed for the future senior officers.'[5]

This initial foray of criminology into studies relevant to the police, never however, achieved the vocational or professional intensity of the Department's contribution to the training of probation and prison staff, although, from time to time over the past thirty years, dialogue between the University and police training organizations has taken place and sporadic contributions to official training have been made. Perhaps the main reason for this relatively limited inroad into relevant police studies was the non-vocational basis of the DES adult education grant, but the ambivalent attitudes of the Department to examinations and to vocationally orientated studies as a whole may well have been important factors.

Meanwhile the relationship of the Department with the Prison Service has taken two routes, that concerned with *prisoner education* and that directed towards the training of *prison staff*.

Departmental contributions to the Prison Service: Prisoner education

The one prison with which the Department has had a long-term commitment in the education of inmates is the maximum security prison at Wakefield. If memory alone can be trusted, the Department was involved there in its very early years, and anecdotal history has it that one science lecturer from the University found that a silent member of his 'prisoner' class was the internationally renowned physicist and notorious spy, Karl Fuchs. Certainly, personal memory recalls accompanying a colleague in the early 1950s on a weekend course in Wakefield prison devoted to movement and dance—Marcel Marceau appeared on film, not in prison!

Unfortunately, departmental records have not yielded much information about the prison programme before the 1970s, but certainly throughout the 1970s and 1980s classes, usually two, were held each year in a range of subjects, literature, history, archaeology, philosophy and sociology, taken by at least six members of the full-time staff. The aim of transplanting the traditional two- or three-year tutorial class from outside into the prison, however, had a rough passage, not least in retaining the same students over the duration of even one session in order to ensure a systematic approach to the subject. The even more ambitious scheme to introduce a certificated course, such as a University Extension Certificate scheme, failed to materialize but it is interesting to note that in recent years Leeds University, through its School of Sociology and Social Policy, has succeeded in establishing part-time degree work in Full Sutton prison. Meanwhile, the laudable aim of breaching the psychological walls of the prison by having a mixed class of prisoners and WEA students from outside, also proved difficult to sustain, partly because of official fears concerning security and control—one should, however, deny the rumour that a favourite subject, archaeology, became suspect when DIGS were mentioned![6] However, despite many frustrations, reports from both tutors and students acknowledge the intellectual stimulus provided by the classes, particularly for men facing a long, sometimes life, sentence.

The dedication of tutors could be seen, for example, in the incredibly detailed and constructive comments they made on a prisoner's first tentative steps to express his feelings in verse.

Criminology-wise, the Department's involvement in prison work stimulated an intense discussion and debate about the aims of university adult education in prison—should it be concerned with the man as a prisoner, helping him to cope with the 'pains' of imprisonment and to exercise choice which prisons inevitably restrict? Should it be concerned with the man as an offender, deliberately challenging the framework within which he perceives and reacts to criminogenic situations? Or should it confine its aim to meeting his aspirations as a student, and that alone?

In another, indirect, way the Department has been involved from time to time in the education of prisoners, namely by contributing to the training of the staff of the education departments in prisons. This, most recently, has found expression in the Department of Adult Continuing Education, alongside the School of Sociology and Social Policy, helping to found the Leeds University Centre of IFEPS—the International Forum of Education in the Penal System: the phrase 'in the Penal System' reflected the increasing interest in the manner in which education experienced in prison could be linked to education within the community on release from prison. IFEPS has the dual aim of promoting research into the role of education in the criminal justice field and of providing a forum for the dissemination and critical appraisal of educational practice.

It is, however, with the training of the main-grade staff of prisons that the Department has made probably its most sustained contribution.

Departmental contributions to the Prison Service: Prison Staff training

The link between Leeds University and Prison Service staff training dates back to before the establishment of the Department, in fact to 1935, when the Prison Service introduced the first 'Staff Course' aimed at equipping prison officers to fill more senior positions including that of prison governor. Since the mid 1930s, the University–Prison Service co-operation has gone through a number of significant phases, influenced by the tension—creative or otherwise—between the vocational needs of the Service and the liberal principles inherent in the university adult education of the time. The ensuing section may indeed be seen as a case-study of interaction of two organizations with different primary aims, seeking to co-operate in a period of considerable change.

Stage one: the liberal ideal

During the first stage, spanning some twenty years from 1935, the involvement of Leeds University in prison staff training was limited almost exclusively to contributions to the Staff Course which was 'intended to fit [prison] officers for the rank of Assistant Governor. It is designed to pick out the young officer (under 35) and to broaden his mind by an intensive six months course, both professional and academic, but predominantly the latter'.[9] Originally, the staff course had a small membership, usually five or six, and was homogeneous to the extent that it was restricted to existing members of the Prison Service whose educational background did not normally include any experience of higher education. This contribution took the form of course members spending two days a week at the University attending three or four classes on economics, history, ethics and/or literature. In the pre-war years, it would appear that they shared courses primarily intended for undergraduates. After the war, the prison officers continued to attend the University but responsibility for the courses was now undertaken by the newly-established Extramural Department. From 1950 to 1955 two courses were provided in English literature and ethics by two members of the Department's full-time staff. One of these two, reflecting upon his experience in prison service and similar type courses, wrote that

> the new vocational motive in adult education offers great opportunities, accompanied by serious temptation … The temptation turns out to be a very old one: the temptation to give the students just what they want (where students are sponsored by their firm, trade union or professional association, we should perhaps say: 'what their sponsors want') … [but] the business of liberal education is with men as men, not with men as miners, policemen, social workers or businessmen.[10]

Clearly, this notion of education directed at the whole man not just at the man as a worker coincided with the views of the Prison Commissioners who in the main were products of Oxford and Cambridge universities. Whether it was endorsed by the majority of the course members is difficult to verify.

However, the 1950s and 1960s saw the Prison Service expanding and diversifying at a considerable rate, an increasing emphasis being placed on the 'reformation' aim of prisons and borstals, and a growing demand made for governors to assume and be trained for a professional role—alongside the specialists such as psychologists and social workers who were being introduced into penal establishments.[11]

Stage two: the quest for relevance

In 1956, the *Annual Report* of the Prison Commissioners announced that:

> The Commissioners have for some time been anxious to improve the training of their staffs in social studies, particularly case work ... It is proposed that, beginning with the Staff Course of October 1957–March 1958 which will be modified to lay greater emphasis on case-work and related subjects, direct entrants and Staff Course entrants to the grade of Assistant Governor Class II shall form a combined course of six months at the School [College] in conjunction with Leeds University.[12]

This stage was, therefore, marked by four important changes for the Department of Extramural Studies. The Staff Course membership was to become larger, ranging from fifteen to over thirty, and more importantly it was to be more heterogeneous in respect of the educational background of the students. Some of the 'direct entrants' came as graduates straight from universities, whilst others came with experience in relatively senior administrative positions. Was it possible to cater for these in the same course as the prison officers with less educational and outside experience? Secondly, the subjects to be provided by the University were ones seen as more relevant to the professional Governor grade—initially law and criminology were introduced, followed by psychology, sociology and communications, whilst ethics, literature and history were dropped. The challenge remained, however, as to whether the essential elements of liberal adult education could be retained in face of the pressure towards vocational relevance.

Meanwhile, a third change added to the challenge—students ceased attending classes in the University. These were now held in the Prison College (Wakefield) so that physically at least the University contribution was more firmly integrated into the overall professional training programme. Finally, the University contributors to the Staff Course were seconded for part or whole of their time to the College and were seen as part of the College 'team'. In the case of the university lecturer seconded for the whole of his time, he was designated 'Academic Adviser' with a research and consultancy role as well as a teaching one, and was expected to contribute to the work of the College as a whole rather than to just the Staff Course. (It is interesting to note the difference in this new relationship of the University and the Prison Service and that which developed between the University and Probation. The latter based its training within an outside body, the University, but 'imported' probation officers to act as tutors. The former saw training based within the internal Prison College but with outside university staff imported into the College.)[13]

Stage three: in turmoil

If the decade from 1955 to 1965 was one of change, the late 1960s and the 1970s were years of turmoil in the prison world. The Prison Service, including its central training organization, was hit by a series of crises, each of which seemed to demand a reorientation of priorities—from treatment to security, in face of a series of dramatic prisoner escapes: to control, in response to a spate of riots and to man-management as industrial action among prison officers escalated. But perhaps of even greater significance for staff training was the decline of 'the treatment ethic'.[14] One positive effect of this change was that the Department, with financial support from the Prison Service, appointed a research fellow to examine the problems facing the training of assistant governors as the 'reform' of the prisoner as a major source of job satisfaction began to decline.[15]

The earlier confidence in the ability of prisons and borstals to influence future criminal conduct had found expression in the establishment of therapeutic regimes such as Grendon Prison, in the widespread adoption of methods, for example group work, and in the emphasis placed on staff training in social-work skills. Research in this country and the USA, however, now cast severe doubt on the efficacy of these methods and the underlying ideology of positivism was challenged by the neo-classical (justice model) and radical (interactionist) schools of thought. In face of this disarray, the College felt increasingly that it was losing the confidence of the practitioner in the field and, in consequence, gave greater emphasis to the expressed needs of the field. Its effect upon the initial training of assistant governors was to regard the first two years as the training period, in which greater weight was given to supervised practice in prisons and borstals whilst the theoretical (academic) aspects were dealt with at the College in the form of periodic problem-orientated modules.

The net result was that the university lecturers were challenged to demonstrate the relevance of their specialism to specific responsibilities or procedures. It meant that they were less able to develop their subject as a subject and in this sense their legitimacy was challenged. Moreover, as a major component of the roles of assistant governor and governor was seen to be that of manager rather than social worker, the contributions required from outside educational institutions changed and specific services were bought in from a variety of sources.

Stage four: 'the systematic approach'

This fourth stage which spanned the mid 1970s and the 1980s was, as far as the Leeds Department was concerned, one in which the teaching contribution went into decline but the advisory/consultancy role developed—two full-time advisory posts and an audio-visual technician post were established. This should be seen within the context of what became known as the 'systematic approach':

> It [the systematic approach] is an approach which emphasises the importance of establishing training needs in realistic as distinct from idealistic terms, by a process of job or role analysis; by relating these to teaching/learning methods and resources; by formulating a programme which is carried out and evaluated; and, by modifying and revising the programme in the light of specific criteria of effectiveness.[16]

To implement this, the College established a Planning Unit and a Tutorial Unit and it was in the former that the Leeds University advisers contributed to the job analysis, curriculum planning and evaluation processes. Two courses in which this was carried out and in which the University advisers contributed as members of the Planning Unit, were ones which reflected the increasing emphasis placed upon 'continued' training or post-experience education[17]—the Command Course for governors assuming their first post as governors in charge of a penal establishment and the Senior Command Studies for governors approaching the command of the larger/largest prisons. The University's contribution has therefore shifted from one of teaching within the constraints and discipline of university subjects to one of research/consultancy where the link with the parent university is primarily through the discipline of adult education. It is significant, perhaps, that the current Adviser's principal involvement within the University has been in the professional adult educational programmes. As with his predecessors wo with him the important provision was made for him to spend a quarter of his time in the University to try to ensure that the contribution of the University to the college and vice versa reflected the values of both institutions.

Most recently, however, the emergence of a further development may be discernible, prompted by the emphasis in the Prison Service on cost-effectiveness and the devolving of more managerial, including financial, responsibilities on the governor. This involves the recognition that in his new role the governor could share in the educational provision for managers in other spheres of activity. In turn, this has stimulated a renewed interest in external paper qualifications and in closer contact with institutions which have a specialized role in management studies, thus possibly moving the role of the Academic Adviser into one of liaison with not one but many educational institutions, including those such as the Open University, which have distance learning programmes.[18]

Reflecting on the stages outlined above which have spanned over fifty years, perhaps the biggest challenge to the Leeds Department was whether it could maintain, whilst adapting its contribution to the changing needs and demands of the prison world, the independent and essential characteristics of university adult education.

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13

Social Work Education, Research and Development, 1963–1994

Mike Stein

This chapter tells the story of the roots and development of social-work education within the Department from its beginnings in 1963 until 1994. It is a story which will be told in three main parts: Origins and Expansion 1963–79; Decline and Demoralization 1980–86; and New Directions 1987–94. And it is a story, like many others, of the inter-relationship between the agency and actions of the main characters and the contextual influences and constraints in the making of the plot.

Origins and expansion 1963–79

It remains something of mystery to me as to why S. G. Raybould, a dogged and disputatious champion of a particular conception of liberal adult education, and of the significance of university standards therein,[1] should embrace the 'heresy' of vocational training as early as 1957. By the time the first course for probation officers was being planned, during 1962/63, the Department was already providing training courses for hospital administrators and prison service staff. It is certainly the case that both the initiative and funding came from outside the Department—from the Ministry of Health and Home Office respectively—and therefore posed no threat to the sacred 'liberal education of adults' written into the grant regulations since 1908. The opportunities for expansion into hospital and prison vocational training (adult education empire building?) thus outweighed the desire to protect, at all costs, the purity of the Department's liberal adult education tradition. Such opportunism and lowly thinking prepared the ground for a positive response from the Department to the Home Office's (Probation Division) request to provide probation training for mature entrants.

The first Home Office Northern Course (known affectionately thereafter to students and local agencies as HONC) was launched in September 1963 under the direction of Dorothy Burdis, a senior probation officer attached to the Department on secondment. The eight-month course combined both education and training, and students from outside Leeds resided in the Albert Mansbridge College. Indeed, 'HONC 1963-64' was the first of its kind in England and, in light of the experience gained, the Home Office extended this form of training to Bristol, Leicester and Southampton extramural departments.

In 1966 the Department received a similar request, this time from the Child Care Division of the Home Office, to provide a two-year training course for child-care officers. This, the third vocational training scheme initiated by the Home Office, was also welcomed by the Department, and Janet Robson, an experienced child-care officer, was appointed to run the course. It is, perhaps, significant that the term 'applied social studies' is used for the first time during 1967/68 and the Division of Applied Social Studies was created in 1969. This new Division, headed by Dr Les Laycock, brought together the ten lecturers who were involved in teaching on the three applied social studies schemes—Probation, Child Care and Prison training courses—and was funded in its entirety by the Home Office. But all this suggests a very internal affair. Even such modest developments as social work training demand to be put in a wider context.

To begin with, the spirit of 1945 and Labour's social democratic politics provided the ideological climate for the acceptance of welfare policies which reflected a more liberal and humane approach, a significant break with the policies, practices and theories that had gone before.

The morality theory of the Charity Organization Society, religion, and biological determinism had all condemned the poor, but these ideas were no longer acceptable in the post-war egalitarian climate. The new local authority Children's Departments created by the Children Act of 1948 finally broke with the Poor Law, and the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 increased the responsibilities of the Probation Service. Further legislation underpinned by the continuing social democratic consensus, including the Children and Young Persons Act 1963, and government reports (Ingleby Report 1960, Morrison Committee Report 1962) also led to new duties, new staff demands and the linked requirements for training. By the early 1960s, and following the recommendations of the Younghusband Report, professional training, with social casework as the major component, replaced a general social studies education as the acceptable entry qualification for social work.[2] Enter the Home Office … Thank you very much, S. G. Raybould.

The period between 1963, when the Department's first probation course began, and 1969 when the Division of Applied Social Studies was created, witnessed major changes in the personal social services. The newly elected Labour government's modernization programme included the reorganization of the previously disparate mental health, child care and welfare services into unified generic social service departments, the introduction of major child care and welfare legislation and a commitment to 'real' growth in personal social services expenditure.

It was during these years that social work developed a strong professional identity. By the end of the 1960s plans were afoot for a new Certificate and Qualification in Social Work to replace the specialist training courses, a new Central Council for Education and Training to assume responsibility for the new award, and a new unified professional association, the British Association of Social Workers. And it was against this background of optimism that the Department's new Division of Applied Social Studies, led by Les Laycock, met during 1969/70 and planned its future. It set itself five objectives:

1. To reorganise its non-graduate courses for Probation and Child-Care Officers into a united two year course.
2. To introduce a one year qualifying course for graduates in the social sciences.
3. To introduce a post-qualifying MA course.
4. To develop shorter post-experience courses for senior staff.
5. To develop a research and consultancy role, particularly in connection with the Prison Service Staff College.[3]

It was also during the 1969/70 meetings of the new Division that becoming independent of the extramural department was first discussed: 'To ensure that the break comes when the Division is strong enough to survive and develop, and where the Department will be least adversely affected by the severance.'[4]

The team was prepared, the route planned and the summit visible—like Pen-y-Ghent on a clear day! It was just a matter of time before the goal was reached—a new Department of Social Work. All went well to begin with.

so that by 1973 all the 1969 plans had greatly progressed or been achieved.

An active and committed staff group was led by Les Laycock. Dorothy Burdis (Probation) and Janet Robson (Child Care) combined to direct the new two-year, generic, non-graduate course. Eileen Gabbitas had been appointed to lead the new one-year postgraduate Diploma in Applied Social Studies, offered jointly with the Department of Psychiatry through the teaching of Colin Pritchard and Alan Butler. Peter Nokes became course director of the new post-qualifying MA (Applied Social Studies). Also by 1973, substantial teaching contributions to all these programmes were made by Norman Jepson (criminology), Mark Beeson (criminology and sociology), Jean Thompson (social policy), Reg Marks (psychology) and Kathleen Helliwell (residential social work).

The moment had surely come, and during 1972/73 a formal proposal was submitted to the University to form an Institute of Social Work and Applied Social Studies with independent departmental status. But it was not to be: all paths blocked, falling rocks. The University's rejection of this proposal proved to be the most significant decision affecting the Department's social work education provision. For it was this decision more than any other which could be used in future to legitimize the run-down and eventual termination of initial social work training. The main reason given by the sub-committee which enquired into the proposed Institute was a rejection of applied social studies as an academic discipline, 'too narrow to form the basis of a new department', and 'insufficient common ground for a rigidly organised institute with departmental status'.[5] In addition, the absence of undergraduate teaching, the extra cost, and 'little support' for the proposal outside the Department were all cited.[6] Similar criticisms could have been levelled at other 'disciplines' in the University. Social policy and education both drew upon multi-disciplinary roots and the School of Education's main teaching provision was its postgraduate diploma.

But by 1974 social policy was establishing its own respectable empirical identity, free from the grand theoretical narratives being engaged by sociology—and neither of them wanted anything to do with applied 'do-goodery'. And Education was at least providing training for an established profession. Similarly, the disciplines in the University underpinning the high status professions, psychology and psychiatry, were not interested: the fact that the University's sub-committee found little support outside the Department is worth repeating. The 'academese' of the committee's report could be reduced to a simple verdict: academically suspect and professionally dubious. The initial University concerns about the very first probation course—its vocational character and the dubious academic background of its students had returned not just to haunt us, but to bury us.

Instead of departmental status we were to be fobbed off with a Centre for Social Work and Applied Social Studies, to be administered by the Division and 'to embrace all departments impinging on the field of social work'.

However, despite the verdict of the sub-committee and the disappointment of the Applied Social Studies staff group, business continued much as usual until the end of 1979/80. The Centre for Social Work became operational in January 1976 and duly set up sub-committees to organize or progress post-experience courses, external relations, basic training, research, and seminars and publicity. In effect the 'engine' of the Centre was fuelled, maintained and driven by staff of the Division plus a small representation of members from internal departments. The two initial social work training courses continued to recruit and stabilized at eighty-five students, with sixty qualifying each year, thus making a major contribution to the staffing of social work agencies both locally and nationally. New staff were appointed, including Peter Watson, an educational psychologist, to teach developmental psychology, Kathleen Oliver to replace Janet Robson's leadership role on the two-year course, Liz Johnson to replace Kathleen Helliwell to develop residential social work teaching, Kevin Ward to develop community work theory and practice, and myself, as a replacement for Jean Thompson, to teach social policy. In addition, the Division's first administrator, Sue Hardman, started in 1975, ably supported by the long-serving Brenda Pemberton and the very efficient Christine Acton.

However, from the mid 1970s the world of social work was beginning to change. A professional culture which had stabilized itself around a psychodynamic world view and which focused exclusively upon the pathology of the individual, or the family, as both cause and solution, was being challenged. Against a background of increased awareness of worsening social and economic conditions and challenges to the social democratic consensus, the core theories and assumptions of social work training were under threat. As Pearson argues:

> However, the debt of the stable professional culture had to be paid, and the problem of the relationship between social work and the State, which had been put to sleep within professional consciousness, reasserted itself in a series of frozen images: social control or social change; therapy or reform; adaption or self-actualisation; casework or revolution; the adjustment of the individual to society or a change in society to meet the individual's needs; welfare intervention focused on the 'individual' or on the 'environment'.[5]

From 1975 it was these 'frozen images' which structured the agenda of many meetings, discussions and debates within the staff group and between staff and students—many of whom had explored the 'new' curriculum of deviance theory, Marxism and anti-psychiatry during their recent social science undergraduate courses and become aware of the 'new' practice of community work, welfare rights and advocacy during their immediate pre-course work experiences. The outcomes of the ensuing 'struggles' were an ever-widening academic curriculum and placement opportunities, but this exciting plurality led to new problems, including superficiality of academic coverage and weak links between theory and practice. These issues were addressed by the staff group in proposing a new two-year MA course to replace the existing one- and two-year courses. But this proposal was firmly rejected by the University, which clearly had other plans for Applied Social Studies—and expansion was not one of them.

Decline and Demoralization

It was from 1979/80 that the University's earlier rejection of 'applied social studies' began to have significant consequences. The ending of earmarked funding for initial training courses, the review of the work of the Centre for Social Work and Applied Social Studies, the freeze on academic posts, and the general review of the work of the Department, were greatly influenced, in terms of their devastating impact upon Applied Social Studies, by the 1974 committee's decision. Somewhat ironically, against a background of increased student demand, the gaining of external research funding and the development of short post-qualifying courses, 1981/82 saw the phasing out of the two-year non-graduate course, a reduced intake to the postgraduate diploma course and the termination of four full-time academic posts. Les Laycock and Dorothy Burdis, who had both pioneered and led major course developments, retired. The fixed-term posts occupied by Stuart Collins

(Department of Psychiatry), who had taken over as course director from Eileen Gabbitas on the postgraduate diploma, and Brenda Toward, who had tutored and taught on the two-year course, were phased out. This left only one and a quarter permanent posts and one temporary post to work on the postgraduate diploma, and even this position was more fragile than it seemed. Eileen Gabbitas who had played such a major part in developing the postgraduate training course, was due to retire at the end of 1985 and the temporary post occupied by Margaret Nunnerly was to end at the same time. Despite widespread protests from past and present students, local agencies, other academic institutions and the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW), Senate approved a recommendation to phase out the postgraduate diploma. Session 1985/86 was to be the last in which the University of Leeds offered initial training in social work. As I wrote for the Department's 1985/86 Annual Report:

> The departure of twenty-five newly qualified students in July 1986 thus marked the end of an era. They were the last to follow in the professional footsteps of nearly two thousand past students, many of whom had given notable service to the local community, and the first of whom qualified over twenty years ago.

And all that remained of the Applied Social Studies staff by July 1986 was 'half of me' and 'a quarter of Liz Johnson'.

New Directions 1987–94

We could have gone quietly, following the Senate decision. No fuss. And what remained of our time (a mere three-quarters of an Applied Social Studies post) could have been absorbed by the Department's liberal adult education, social studies, and MEd programmes. Indeed, offers were made and transfer requests received! But it is not that easy to write off the past and particularly so given the developing strength of our Applied Social Studies research and publications, and our high level of credibility with local social work agencies. Liz Johnson, Derek Williamson (whose renewed contract with the Prison Service had resulted in a quarter post attached to our section) and myself met regularly to explore the potential for a new programme of Applied Social Studies work. Wide soundings confirmed our view that there was potential and, following departmental agreement, the post-experience applied social studies group (PEASS) was launched in September 1986. Its initial work included five externally funded research and consultancy projects, and short courses for social workers at both our Bradford and Leeds centres. A new beginning had been made. And we were able to build considerably on this modest platform so that by 1991 the work of the group had evolved into the Vocational Section and was organized around three main public service areas—Personal Social Services, Criminal Justice and School Governor Training.

Our research and consultancy work in the area of child and family welfare has been very successful since its inception. In academic and professional terms it has made a very substantial contribution to publications, dissemination and practice development, and has received national acclaim. In financial terms, grants, contracts and consultancies from the ESRC, national charities, educational institutions and central and local government departments have been awarded, totalling in excess of £0.75 million by 1994. Our success in this area led to the appointment of Nick Frost as a lecturer in Public Policy in June 1992 and the setting up of the Department's Child Care Research and Development Unit (CCRDU) in October 1993.

At the time of writing (1994) eight staff are engaged in working on our ten current child care research and consultancy projects. These include three national projects: a four-year study of leaving care schemes, funded by the Department of Health; a two-year study of young people who run away from home and care, funded by the Children's Society; and a three-year study of Home-Start family support schemes, funded by Home-Start Consultancy. We are also engaged on a wide range of consultancies including residential child care, child protection, leaving-care research and training materials, and in national and local policy forums. Research papers have been presented at international and national conferences.

The Unit, in its short life, has provided an identity and focus for members' interests including research seminars, identifying and pursuing ongoing funding and the planning of accredited post-qualifying work leading to a Master's qualification. Yes, a new course is being planned. Does that ring any bells … from thirty years ago?

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14

Educating the Educators of Adults: Postgraduate Provision in Adult Education

Stuart Marriott

Origins: from enthusiasm to 'festina lente'

In the autumn of 1949 the University Grants Committee invited its client institutions to begin shaping their priorities in anticipation of the next financial planning period, due to begin in 1952. Leeds immediately started the process of divination, and in November the Board of Extra-Mural Studies (BEMS) appointed a committee to identify desirable developments within its particular sphere. The enquiry was led by the Vice-Chancellor himself, in his capacity as chairman of BEMS. It is interesting that in those simpler days vice-chancellors had time to be regularly involved in the formal governance of extramural affairs; of special significance in the Leeds case was that the person in question, Charles Morris, had a strong personal commitment to university education beyond the walls.

The Department of Extra-Mural Studies had just begun its fourth session. It had been growing quickly on the enriched post-war diet of government support for higher and adult education. Now the demand for forward planning gave its Director, Sidney Raybould, an opportunity to pursue what was really a dual strategy—not just growth, but academic acceptability too. The outcomes significant for this chapter were that in September 1952 the Department was renamed Adult Education and Extramural Studies, and a year after that Raybould became Professor of Adult Education.

The change of title had been sought 'to make clear that it is a function of the Department to engage in enquiry and teaching concerning Adult Education, as well as to organize extra-mural courses'. In June 1950 BEMS concurred, accepting 'the importance of the subject of Adult Education as part of University Studies'. Indeed it went further: 'The subject, it is believed, is of such importance as to merit a Chair'. A professorship would confirm the importance attached to research in 'history, methods and other aspects' and also to the 'training of men and women for teaching in the field of Adult Education'. The bid for a chair went forward, and was included in the University's list of early priorities for the 1952–57 quinquennium.

It was not unusual for directors of extramural studies to be given the title of professor, but the Leeds move was clearly intended to consolidate academic functions beyond those of generally directing a department and dealing with other senior members of a university. An immediate stimulus may have been Manchester's initiative in instituting a focus for the study of adult education, and then a professorship, during 1947–49. Papers circulating at Leeds referred to these Manchester developments and argued that there was room for more than one major university to be so involved. Raybould was meanwhile setting out the academic stall, and in 1951 he turned his doctoral dissertation into a book, *The English Universities and Adult Education*. (His approach, a dour marshalling of official regulations and enrolment statistics, was 'research', but only of a kind. It was just as much designed to secure a bridgehead on a battleground of policy: all part of the 'great debate' on university standards referred to in several earlier chapters of this volume. It seems that in our field the distinction between research and *parti pris* has never been very scrupulously insisted upon.)

In 1950 BEMS, chary of asking for research posts, had instead approved the idea of releasing selected staff-tutors for a fraction of their time to do work on adult education. From 1952 the Department settled for this system of domestic secondments (one which the Ministry of Education was prepared to support under provisions for extramural funding), and wisely or unwisely made no further demand on the University. A specialist group emerged: two or three staff in any one session enjoying some release from normal duties to work as lecturers in Adult Education. The arrangement continued into the 1960s: originally it brought in Harrison (social history), Jepson (history of education), and McLeish (psychology and comparative studies); later Caldwell and Jennings (history), Earle (psychology), Hauger (methods and theatre studies). This improvised discipline achieved a real, and in some instances distinguished, record of research and publication.

The 'training of men and women for teaching in the field' was embraced more tentatively. Courses aimed at practitioners, and taught by Raybould and his impromptu Adult Education team, were offered intermittently from the autumn of 1950. There came a special flurry the following session, with a panel-course on 'Aspects of the History and Present Organisation of Adult Education in England'. Yet, once the Department had won its new title, provision became increasingly patchy. By 1960 it had collapsed.

Certainly those years brought frustration and uncertainty about the future, but does one not also detect the working of a Raybouldian *idée fixe*? The annual reports of the 1950s presented Adult Education largely in terms of research, and did not even provide an accurate record of the teaching which did go on. Ten years later I would become personally aware of SGR's hesitancy about the teaching role. His report for 1966/67, a twenty-year retrospective, gave considerable space to the 'Study of Adult Education', whilst insisting that 'research and publication on a considerable scope are needed before an adequate foundation for teaching can be provided'. This holding-back may have been an aspect of his famous 'secular puritanism'— and it may have been a by-product of his calculations of how best to win national and international acceptance as an 'authority'. In any case it was over-scrupulous, and it deposited an awkward legacy.

Speeding up?

The early 1960s were a blank as far as courses for practitioners were concerned. Then rather suddenly, and again under the stimulus of a bout of academic planning, the pace changed. In November 1965, responding as head of department to a university 'questionary', Raybould wrote about the need for postgraduate study in Adult Education, and about the hindrances inseparable from the 'Responsible Body' system of funding departments such as his. Recently he had written to the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals urging the heretical solution of abolishing the dual system and incorporating RB money into general university finances. He now embraced a perhaps greater heresy, suggesting that postgraduate work at Leeds would be facilitated by the separation of 'extramural studies' and 'adult education', the latter to be absorbed into a putative Faculty of Education.

There were stirrings within the Department. Responsibility for Adult Education was delegated to George Hauger, and his promotion to senior lecturer arranged at the same time. The scope for part-time classes aimed at tutors and organizers in the region was rediscovered. In 1966 consultation began with the West Riding education authority, and the first course of the new regime, 'Teaching in Liberal Adult Education', was mounted. The idea of a full-time diploma in adult education was rejected, though, on the grounds that the demand was well-enough provided for at other universities.

This modest resurgence can be seen as a part of the growth and diversification which became the big 'trend' during the 1960s, and which began to transform the extramural system nationally. One consequence for Leeds was that the constitution of the Department was brought to a state of splitting at the seams. In the interests of more tightly-corseted management, 'boards of studies' were introduced to advise the head of department. A Board of Adult Education was added in January 1967, with an indication that in future academic staff associated with it would be designated wholly or in part as 'Lecturers in Adult Education'.

I joined the Department in September 1965 as an assistant lecturer on the extension side, and soon became involved in the Adult Education work (very much overtime and without any title, it should be said). There I was drawn into a little sub-culture of discussion and programme development. Courses were being launched on the teaching of drama, archaeology and local history, and it would be fair to say that the approach at that early stage was very much infused by the characteristic commitments of Leeds's own extramural work, and not much by a concern with 'adult education' more generally understood. When Chris Duke arrived, bringing a rather different experience with him, he stretched the boundaries a little with 'Liberal Studies in Further Education'. I, uninstructed historically, and simply bemused by the Department's orthodoxies and holy writs, began to experiment with 'Group Dynamics'—a nostrum of the day, but was it liberal?

The Board of Adult Education had a diverse membership. Not burdened by weighty organizing or approval functions, it had scope to explore what 'the study of adult education' might encompass, and as a result evolved its own heterodoxies. Some of us were given to lofty denigration of the 'wise old craftworker' ethos which we believed was inhibiting 'theory production' in our field. And yet there was a splendidly productive tension between the 'liberal tradition' and the newer involvements. I recall with gratitude the way Norman Jepson and Peter Nokes stimulated us to think about processes of institutional life and to tease out the implications for training people to the 'professional task' (in the terminology of Nokes's book of 1987).

Those discussions were deeply formative for two of us at least, the start of a life-long involvement for Chris Duke and myself in the study of adult education policies, practices and organizational dynamics. Some of the work we were stimulated to do in 1967–69 appeared a few years later as one of the five volumes of the first 'Leeds Studies in Adult Education' series, published in association with Michael Joseph. (Back in 1966, with great foresight, Raybould had scraped together a publications fund and then vested it in the University; its prime purpose was to provide subsidies for scholarly work which a commercial house would not otherwise have considered.)

Training for adult education was now attracting wide attention, and HM Inspectorate and the Department of Education and Science encouraged Leeds to move into award-bearing courses. The response was cautious, the liveliness of collegial discussion not being matched by much practical initiative. There was talk of a part-time diploma or a master's degree; drafts of schemes fluttered about, but did not settle into anything which might be put up for formal approval. Raybould, on the verge of retirement, and often absent from Leeds, seemed no longer to be supplying the impetus.

The 'succession crisis' was upon us, of course; the professor was about to go, and after nearly a decade of headlong growth the Department was sure to be subjected to review. In fact it was already being reviewed. We of the rank and file recognized attempts to sharpen what would today be called the various 'missions', but we were not allowed anywhere near what was under discussion in university quarters. In any case, in the spring of 1969 I went off to a specialist lectureship in Adult Education in John Lowe's new and aspiring set-up at Edinburgh University.

The Adult Education Division

The repercussions of Raybould's departure I was to understand only years later, after I had acquired a taste for archives. In the period 1967–69, it appeared, quite surprising possibilities were considered: the relocation of the professorship in the Education Department, turning Adult Education and Social Work studies into two new departments, converting the headship of Extramural Studies into an administrative directorship. What the University did decree was that from October 1969 there would be four 'divisions' under a federal, but still departmental, umbrella. In Chapter 6 of this book Norman Jepson suggests that the new structure derived from Raybould's intense concern to secure for the future, in all their particularity, the older and the newer ventures he had presided over. Just so; and I would add that the new constitution was piloted through by his close ally of this later period, William Walsh, professor of Education and chairman of the Board of Extra-Mural Studies. Raybould and Walsh: two magnates utterly different in personality and manner, and yet with a close understanding and sympathy.

By creating divisions of Liberal Studies and Special Courses the University institutionalized and preserved the Raybouldian orthodoxy of two (never the twain would meet?) forms of provision, funding and organization. The divisions of Applied Social Studies and Adult Education were different again, and were intended at their inception to be provisional: the social work training remained under review as a potential base for an independent department, and Senate approved the adult education arrangement on the understanding that after three years there was to be consideration of whether to incorporate it into the School of Education. (This school, with Walsh as its first chairman, was another innovation of the period. It was a gradualist device for amalgamating the Department and the Institute of Education, and it was also charged with producing an overall approach to the planning of educational research and study in the university.)

The Adult Education Division emerged at an interesting time. The boom in diplomas and higher degrees led to the founding in 1970 of a Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults—an act of academic self-assertion on the part of George Weddell of Manchester and John Lowe of Edinburgh against the old administration-minded 'directors' club' of the Universities Council for Adult Education. It is usually stated that SCUTREA began in 1970, but as a matter of fact there had been a proto-SCUTREA gathering at Manchester the year before. Raybould was at the 1969 conference, along with Bernard Jennings as his one-man praetorian guard. Himself no inconsiderable fixer, SGR betrayed a certain horrified fascination as other participants at the conference told how they manipulated extramural funding to support what were really intramural courses leading to university awards in adult education.

Here a digression into the tediously fascinating realm of financial regulation (SGR's adopted country!) is needed. In England the academic study of education for adults first took shape within extramural departments, and by courtesy of those sections of the *Further Education Grant Regulations* governing the Responsible Body system of liberal, non-vocational provision for adults. Under the 'Regulations', though occasional bending of the rules was connived at, and some training could legally be provided for the staff of agencies themselves involved in spending public money on liberal education for adults, activity was inevitably constrained.

Here and there a university broke away and set up a small academic unit for the study of adult education supported out of regular (UGC) funds. In 1965, as already noted, Raybould had considered a move in that direction, and the option was preserved in the small print of the constitutional rearrangements which followed his departure. The Adult Education Division emerged, nevertheless, as a financial makeshift. Although its headship was filled on the nomination of the University, the actual occupant, George Hauger, remained technically part of the extramural staff. Percy Brookman, the departmental secretary, was able to provide administrative support for a time, and voluntarily devised and taught a successful short course for administrators in adult education. Shirley Cliff took on the part-time divisional clerkship (a position which she would hold under successive constitutions for twenty years). There was no other fixed support.

At the end of his first academic session Hauger reported that 'The Division is still struggling to find a modus vivendi'—as between an intramural and an extramural identity, of course. His programme exploited the loophole by which HMI might approve the diversion of a small proportion of departmental RB resources (classes taken by full-time staff, fees paid to part-time tutors) to the 'training' of adult educators. It depended to a large extent on the good will of extramural colleagues, even if not actually on their charity. In 1970/71 the equivalent of six sessional courses were provided by five members of the Department and one part-timer. They covered teaching and learning, the clergy as adult educators, group work, organization and administration, the teaching of archaeology. Student recruitment was comparably varied. There was liaison with local authority advisers and heads of centres, but (in contrast to what happened at a number of other universities) no policy of aligning provision specifically with LEA concerns.

A contribution was also made to the Diploma in Further Education, a Leeds Institute award offered through the Huddersfield College of Education (Technical), and this may have encouraged the Division to covet an award of its own. By 1972 a two-year, part-time Diploma in Adult Education (designed to provide 'in-service' development, not initial training) had been approved and added to the Institute's list, and consequently gazetted by the DES as a recognized advanced award for serving teachers. Recognition was significant in that it might help some potential students obtain release and financial support; more important was DES readiness to secure the necessary teaching input by ruling that the 'training' indulgence could properly extend to a diploma course. A conjoint understanding was that Leeds should have an extra DES-supported post, assigned to the Adult Education Division to provide a kind of 'tutor-organizer' function. So far, so good—though one senses in retrospect that it was unduly late in the history of university politics and funding to be setting out on this particular venture.

There were two immediate consequences. One was that the author of this chapter made an unplanned return from Edinburgh. The other was that a well-subscribed diploma course began in September 1972. Thereafter, with each new academic session a group of twelve to fifteen students advanced to Year Two, and were joined by a fresh, similar-sized Year One intake. This pattern continued for fourteen years. Recruitment was very diverse, something which the Division cultivated as a mark of distinction: certainly local authority organizers enrolled, but so did clergy, librarians, lecturers in further education, trainers from social services departments and the prison service, prison education officers, community and voluntary workers, and others besides. The catchment area was local of course, though 'local' reached from Billingham to Sheffield, Clitheroe to Kingston upon Hull.

We were careful to emphasize that the course offered a 'mid-career opportunity for experienced practitioners', a 'chance to stand back and take stock'. The diversity of students' backgrounds exercised us on how to balance the general and the special, how to draw a common language from such a babel. There was a running debate whether content should be anchored in selected disciplines, core cross-disciplinary themes, or practice-related concerns—curricular issues now too commonplace to require further comment here. The scheme of study was twice completely revised, never to our real satisfaction. The journey was an interesting one, though, and the search for the 'common language' and the 'generic concerns' with each successive intake (and every one had its distinctive collective personality) a rewarding part of the pedagogical encounter.

Early in 1972, following up Senate's original resolution, the chairman of the School of Education reminded the Department that it was time to reconsider the future of Adult Education. What happened next is not at all clear, and a general review undertaken by the University some years later was unable to discover whether Senate's instruction had ever been acted on. I have already hinted at the ambiguity surrounding the Division. I suspect there was ambivalence too: an eagerness to engage in regular postgraduate work sitting uneasily with caution over intramural entanglements, especially with a large and not very congenial Education department. (There had been spats with the Educationists during the planning of the Diploma scheme.)

Under Norman Jepson's generous management of the Department, a member of the lecturing staff was allowed to join any division with which she or he wished to assert an affinity. Adult Education exploited this rather loose notion of membership, and as result was able to fill a deceptively large amount of space in the University *Calendar* and the departmental reports. But it did win thereby the indispensable attachment of colleagues from other divisions. Ted Earle and later Reg Marks looked after psychology and adult learning; that pawky old Scots lawyer Alex Kelly taught successive intakes of students how to do critical thinking. The more radical temper evident in adult education, and before long 'community education', made itself felt through the contributions of Luke Spencer and Richard Taylor.

Not all the eggs went into the Diploma basket. Throughout the 1970s a lively, if small, programme of short non-certificated courses continued, highly valued for their specialist focus. George Hauger (whose management of the Division tended to mask his true identity of translator, librettist and authority on musical theatre) promoted the theme of the arts in adult education. As a good agnostic he fostered our connections with the Church of England; and, revealing his impresario's stripe perhaps, he arranged for the development of courses in physical education, teaching in institutions and with the disabled, and television and media techniques, all specially adapted to adult education. In an ecumenical spirit carried over from the previous regime, there were hopes that our work would intersect with that of Applied Social Studies. Adult learning and staff development were included formally in the scheme of study for the MA (Applied Social Studies), a degree offered for a time in the early 1970s, but the connection never prospered.

As the Division's 'tutor-organizer', I set up in West Yorkshire the IDEA seminar (the notion of 'Informal Discussions on the Education of Adults', and the acronym, being borrowed from Edinburgh). These meetings for practitioners operated in Leeds and for a time at the Bradford Centre; Earle cloned them at the Middlesbrough Centre. My organizing role soon faded, however. The real opportunities seemed to lie in what was fashionably called 'consultancy'. So the Adult Education Division became involved in advisory and development work with numerous outside bodies: I personally recall the Probation Service, the Department of Health and Social Security, the Royal College of General Practitioners, the Open University, various LEAs and diocesan education departments of the Church of England, and the central training colleges of the National Coal Board and the Prison Service.

There was always a feeling that we should build on the Diploma experience to become providers of regular postgraduate studies. In 1974 we made our first attempt to join the Master of Education programme. The School of Education, which of course dominated the University's MEd Committee, gave us a hard time for our presumption, but after some ceremonial blood-letting a couple of options in Adult Education were approved. Then came the realization that no-one had considered how the requisite teaching was to be funded. The DES refused, annoyingly but quite properly, to extend the use of RB resources to what would be undisguised internal university work. The University's review-group of 1979–81 was to learn from HMI that even the original approval of diploma teaching had been made 'in error'. Subsequently the DES had allowed the arrangement to continue, but clearly there were to be no more concessions for Leeds. The MEd set-back was the first outbreak of what became a recurring malaise. Adult Education was being encouraged to 'take off', but without proper attention to the financial prerequisites. The Division's entries in the departmental reports for 1976/77 and 1978/79 noted recurring bouts. These were supportable because they struck only now and again, and because much could still be done within the existing grant-aid framework.

Leeds was a founder-member and steady supporter of SCUTREA. In those early days we went to the annual conferences and worried about how to balance the 'teaching' and 'research' elements of the organization's title. The problem affected us at home too, for the Division remained under the sway of the teaching-and-tutoring culture of the extramural tradition. The cry was all methods, curricula, development work, reviews of provision. Some of that did overlap with research, but I am afraid that stand-alone research was rather neglected. In those days 'publish or perish' was still associated with h[illegible]ries from North America.

When I returned to Leeds in 1972 the divisions were scattered in various old buildings, at the north-west corner of what the University now called its 'campus', and mostly around the devastation which was resolving itself into the Purple Zone car-park. My work address was an end-terrace house, No 21 Clarendon Place. On the ground floor was a knocked-through room which provided space for classes and meetings, and also housed the Adult Education Library. Doris Buchanan worked there part-time supervising library accessions and loans. Above were the departmental headquarters occupied by Professor Jepson, Mr Brookman and their secretaries. In the attic space (where a rope and a sling served as fire-escape) my head of division and his secretary held court. I 'worked from home', just as in my first extramural years, though I did have the use of one end of Hauger's desk when I absolutely needed it. Diploma classes met downstairs, and in a stuffy basement at Lyddon Terrace borrowed from the social-work people. In 1976 accommodation problems vanished when the divisions were reunited physically, if not spiritually, in a redundant theological college at Springfield Mount.

Disruption and some progress

Three years on and another review was set in train by the University. (Has ever a department been so reviewed?) Provoked by the need to disentangle the threads of what had become a large and complex programme of initial training for social workers, it was conveniently represented as a decennial stock-taking, and then even more conveniently turned into an 'economies' exercise. The issue for Adult Education, though, was the administrative-financial bar on our involvement in the full range of academic activity. After the termination of the review, in 1982, the divisions were abolished. As in the old days Hauger and I found ourselves part of a unitary department, though with the difference that we now held UGC-funded posts (a windfall from the less happy process, described by Mike Stein in Chapter 13, of running down a large part of the Department's social-work provision).

The new constitution of Adult and Continuing Education was intended to banish weaknesses attributed to the previous divisional set-up. The title, according to the administrator who claims to have invented it, would reaffirm in up-to-date language the 'dual mandate' first acknowledged in

1952. 'Adult Education' was to signify responsibility for academic study and leadership in the field, 'Continuing Education' to mark the co-ordination of all extramural work within a single management structure. It should be said, though, that the review documents did not pin down those terms unambiguously, or even use words consistently, and in effect the Department was left to make what it wanted of them. 'Adult', a time-honoured term, seemed to be taken to mean the liberal, non-vocational work, as protectively defined by the historic system of grant-aid; 'Continuing', still a somewhat novel designation, certainly remained exclusively associated with the near-market work of professional updating and the like.

The Divisions had gone, but divisions remained. Although interests previously sequestered in various corners of the Department were now brought into a single arena, there persisted such marked distinctions of task and purpose that it was difficult to see how a 'departmental' stance on policy-making and decision-taking could be achieved. There was a drive by the more forceful from the old Liberal Studies Division to occupy the high ground, by insisting that their work was not just the largest part of the total programme, but its essence. They met with some opposition, and as external events also worked increasingly to their disadvantage tempers frayed. By 1982 the ideological trend of Thatcherism was fully evident, and soon the DES was taking its own stick to the 'entitlement culture', trying to shake up adult education's grant-aid system by the astringent application of 'value for money' and 'contracting'. Not surprisingly Leeds University read the signs of the times as a warning to shift the balance of adult/continuing work in favour of 'income-generation'. Also, from early in 1983, it was known that Norman Jepson intended to retire, and a period of added uncertainty followed. Staff meetings became agitated, to say the least, and occasionally the atmosphere at Springfield Mount turned febrile.

What of the former Adult Education Division? For want of a better idea it was lumped managerially with what remained of social work training as 'Professional Studies', and so I was expected to devote some of my time to supporting colleagues in applied social studies, who no longer had even as much as their own senior lecturer to represent them. Hauger's contribution to Diploma and MEd teaching had to be strictly limited once he was acting as head of department, first during Jepson's study leave and then during the interregnum which immediately followed.

A training partnership with the Social Handicap Division of the DHSS continued for a while, but connections with other outside bodies were allowed to lapse. (They had never been a source of great fame or financial benefit anyway.) The 1982/83 session saw the introduction of a revised Diploma course; it did not recruit well, and the scheme was accordingly wound up. A completely new MEd programme, which we were at long last free to offer, showed much better promise. There were also more enrolments for part-time doctoral research; though here experience was disappointing, as candidatures proved extremely vulnerable to students' increasing busyness resulting from promotions and increases of responsibility at work.

In January 1985 I succeeded to the established chair of Adult Education, and headship of the Department for the time being. I insisted on keeping up my contribution to 'educating the educators of adults', but given the general financial situation and Hauger's impending retirement the prospects for growth in that direction were not bright. The next eighteen months proved rather miserable. Another investigation of our affairs had begun. The clear message from Senate Planning Committee was: *imprimis*, for several years now the percentage of the departmental budget guaranteed by DES grant had been declining; *item*, the University, concerned about the drain on its own central funds, wanted to see the trend not just halted but reversed.

In those days of BC (before cost-centres) a deal had to be done with Planning Committee, and only painful options were available. Was it jaundiced of me to detect among my Liberal Studies colleagues an especially fervent attachment to the idea of a 'unitary department', of our all being in the same boat, when it came to finding ways to compensate for the insufficiency of their grant-aid? On Hauger's retirement I felt obliged, against my own sectional inclination and interest, to list his post among those to be surrendered to the economizers—though as a recompense (following a related decision to abandon all initial training for social work) Peter Watson became available to apply his expertise in psychology and special needs to MEd teaching and research supervision.

Oddly enough, amidst all this disarray, the Department was able to assert itself, in a way it had not done since the 1950s, as a generator of research, publication and expertise in the study of education for adults *per se*. (In Chapter 15 Miriam Zukas explores some of the reasons for this seeming paradox.) The action-research on work with the disadvantaged, an integral part of the liberal studies programme, secured wide publicity. Substantial 'pure' research into adult education was being done in several quarters. By 1985 Leeds was supplying the editor of the national scholarly journal *Studies in the Education of Adults*, and the chief officers of SCUTREA. The 'Leeds Studies' monographs had been revived on an in-house basis, and were gradually building up to what would later be acknowledged as a 'distinguished series'. On the teaching side the switch from diploma to master's provision had been well judged, and 1987 marked the statistical apogee, with over forty students—mainly full-time and part-time MEd—on the books. At the time the situation did not feel especially reassuring, but one does look back with nostalgia, almost.

Wrong directions and new directions

After the later 1980s the story of this chapter arrives at no final equilibrium. It continues in fact as one of unremitting readjustment, usually experienced as external imposition rather than as academically welcome evolution.

In 1988 the university decided that its purposes would be better served by having a federal School of Continuing Education, within which two new departments would be able to pursue, under clearly distinguished funding disciplines, grant-aided adult education and continuing professional education respectively. The new constitution also included a 'Study of Continuing Education Unit', under my direction, and separately organized so as to give some safeguard to the few and vulnerable resources available for that pursuit.

Some of us involved in the general management of the School began to feel before very long that the effort put into the 'federal' layer of business was non-productive, satisfying the demands of the paper constitution and little else. The defect lay in the fact that the School had no real powers. So, in 1990 when the University introduced a cost-centre system of departmental accounting, and it appeared that in terms of financial control a federal school would remain superfluous, the association was dissolved. The Study of Continuing Education Unit migrated to the School of Education, with which it was seen to share a common funding fate.

Universities are of course 'organized anarchies' where tidiness is neither an attainable condition nor really a virtue. After the dismantling of 1990, academic teaching and research about what we were now calling 'continuing education' seemed to be catered for by a designated unit within the School of Education—and indeed the Unit scored a last-minute success by winning the Faculty of Education's final allocation under the 'New Blood' scheme and by appointing Janice Malcolm to develop teaching and research in policy studies. At the same time the inheritor of the extramural tradition, now Department of Adult Continuing Education, was receiving crucial support as an academic and not just an organizing entity (again see Chapter 15): as a result it introduced its own MEd provision, along with a certificate for teachers in further education. The pattern would have been even richer had the Department of Continuing Professional Education been able to press its plans for an international graduate programme for practitioners.

During the 'federal' phase and after, all three sets of players measured up to the increasing pressure to demonstrate excellence in research. Over four years, severally and in various partnerships, we were remarkably successful in winning research funding under the competitive system operated by the Universities Funding Council specifically for continuing education.

The UFC has gone, and its successor Higher Education Funding Council is winding up the remnants of the earlier funding systems. There are now also many more universities which might wish to have a say in the construction of 'university continuing education'. How that will affect teaching and research remains to be seen. Just as uncertain is the changing world of practice to which trainers of practitioners must appeal.

Earlier I identified 1987 as the peak year for teaching; it marked a 'peak' only because of the slide which followed, downwards into a dystopia of educational 'reform'. By 1987 drastic revisions to the system of in-service training for teachers and lecturers in the public sector were already being forced through. As far as sustained, university-based courses were concerned, full-time study by secondment was about to become extinct, and intending part-time students were facing increasing difficulty in obtaining financial support. Then the devolution of school budgets required by the 1988 Education Reform Act had the incidental effect of destabilizing LEA central adult education provision, a process taken a crucial stage further by the legislation of 1992 which removed Further Education from local-authority control, and threw the colleges on the one hand and the rump of the adult education service on the other into a turmoil of 'repositioning'.

The disruption of recruitment to in-service study of continuing education cannot be denied. The arrival of new client-groups, such as educators in health and health-related fields, and the attractiveness of Leeds's new doctorate in education, have so far only partially compensated.

The uncertainties of the mid 1990s can be read as a wry commentary on a success story. For years some of us argued that the future lay in 'mainstreaming', in escaping from the old separatism of 'adult education' and making education for adults part of the normal offering of the dominant educational institutions. Now, as that begins to happen—through open access, more flexible and part-time study, modularization, credit transfer, requirements of professional development—'adult' and even 'continuing' education lose their distinctiveness. The result: a new uncertainty for those who would provide practice-related study and training opportunities.

One way forward, which is being taken at Leeds, is to reconceptualize, to avoid clinging to what may be fading categories. There has been intensive work on a programme of 'post-compulsory education and training', involving collaboration across the Faculty of Education. It is designed to exploit the emergence of a broad field of opportunity for all kinds of learners beyond school-age, whilst appealing also to sub-fields of specialist concentration. It remains to be seen whether an interest in developing a common language, comparable to but much bigger than that of the 1970s, will catch hold.

There remains the matter of 'educating the educators of adults'. Is it now an appeal to a redundant notion? Are the ideas we used to associate with it already material for the archivist and historian? These are keenly-felt uncertainties, especially for one who has enjoyed (so to speak) a thirty-year association with what for fifty years has been one of England's most distinguished and disputatious 'adult education departments'.

Note on sources

An apparatus of learned end-notes was judged not particularly appropriate to a chapter which wanders so much along paths of anecdote and personal recollection. It should be recorded, however, that my assertions about policies and decisions at the University of Leeds have been checked against the minutes of Council, Senate, and Board of Extra-Mural Studies, and the annual reports of the Department under its various guises between 1946 and 1988. Other details are drawn from the records of the former Adult Education Division, held for the time being in the Study of Continuing Education Unit, and destined for the University Archives.

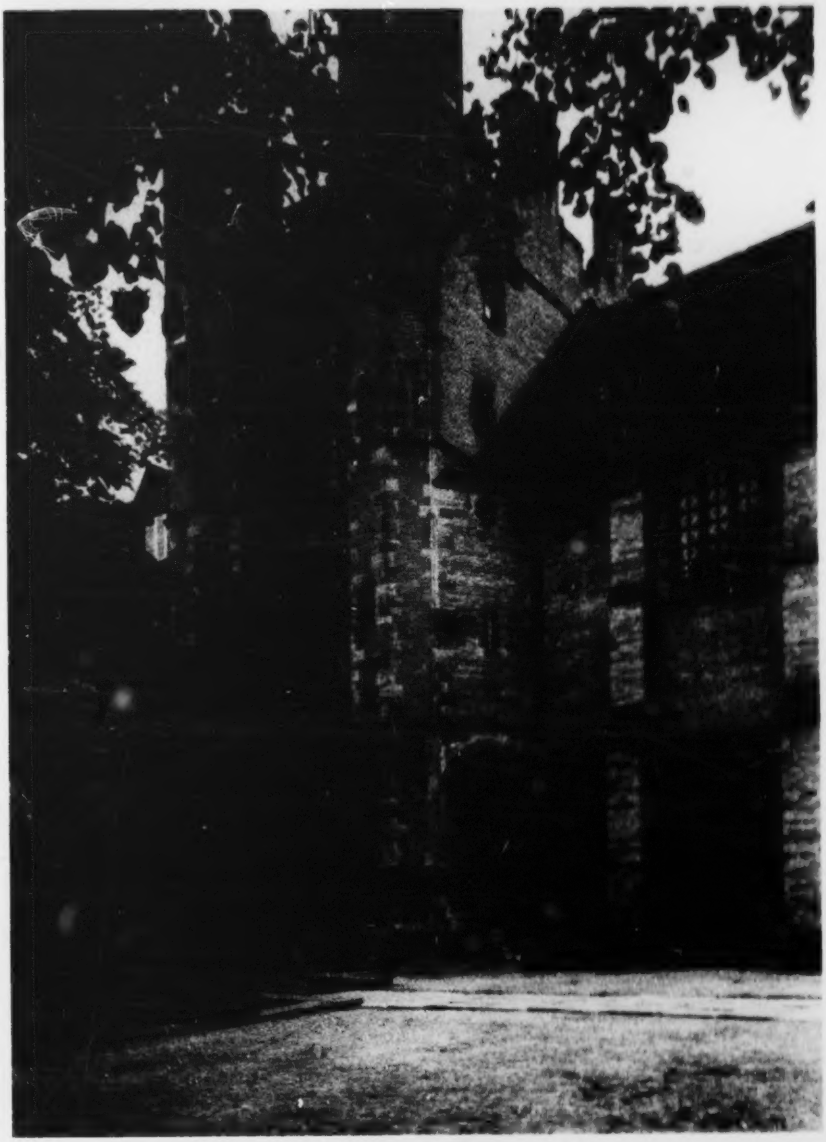
S G Raybould
Head of Department 1946–1969
(Director of Extra-Mural Studies
1946–1960)
Professor of Adult Education (1953)

N A Jepson
Head of Department 1970–1983
Professor of Adult Education (1970)

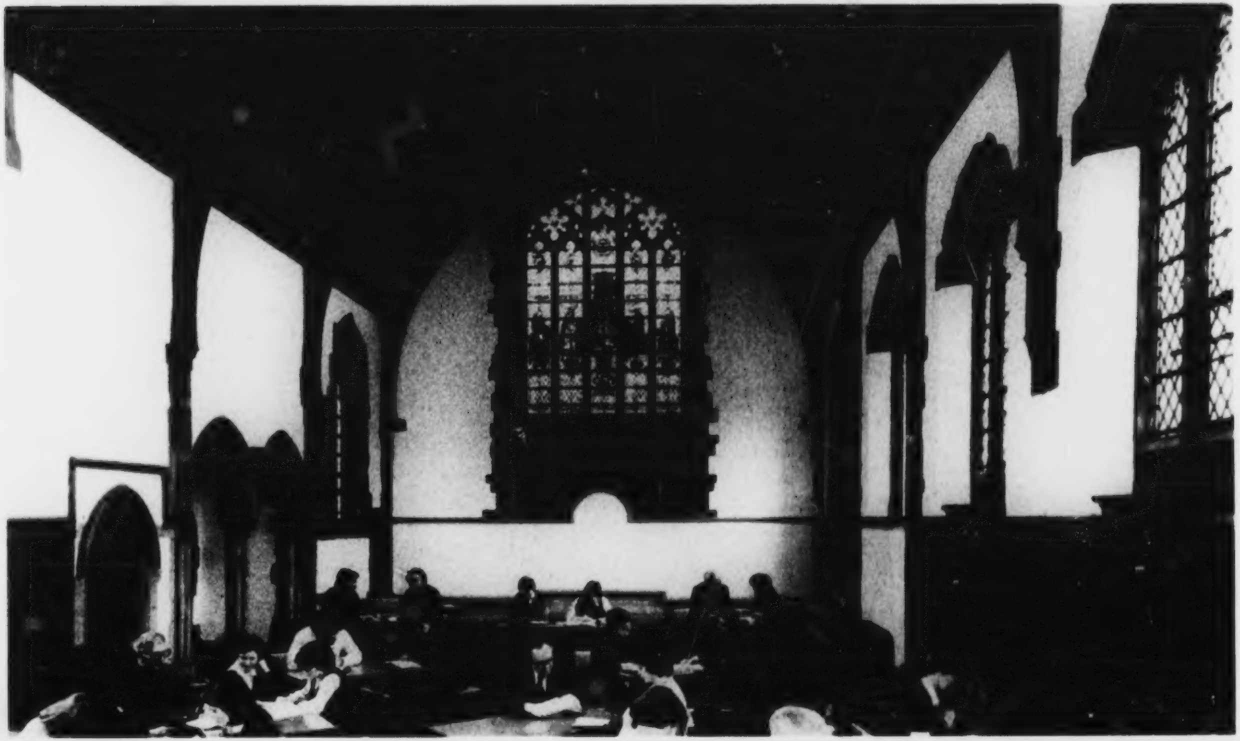
J S Marriott
Head of Department. Chairman of
School 1985–1990
Professor of Adult (later Continuing)
Education (1985)

R K S Taylor
Head of Department 1988–
Professor of Adult Continuing Education
(1991)

Yorkshire Summer School, Madingley Hall, Cambridge, 1954
Group includes staff and students of the Department



Continuing Education Building, Leeds. In 1977 the Department moved into this magnificent building, designed by Temple Moore



The Sidney Raybould Lecture Theatre, Continuing Education Building
Photograph taken in 1978

Departmental Staff Photograph, 1981

Graduation Group, Summer 1992
Staff with graduating students, all of whom had progressed from one of the Department's Access or Certificate Courses

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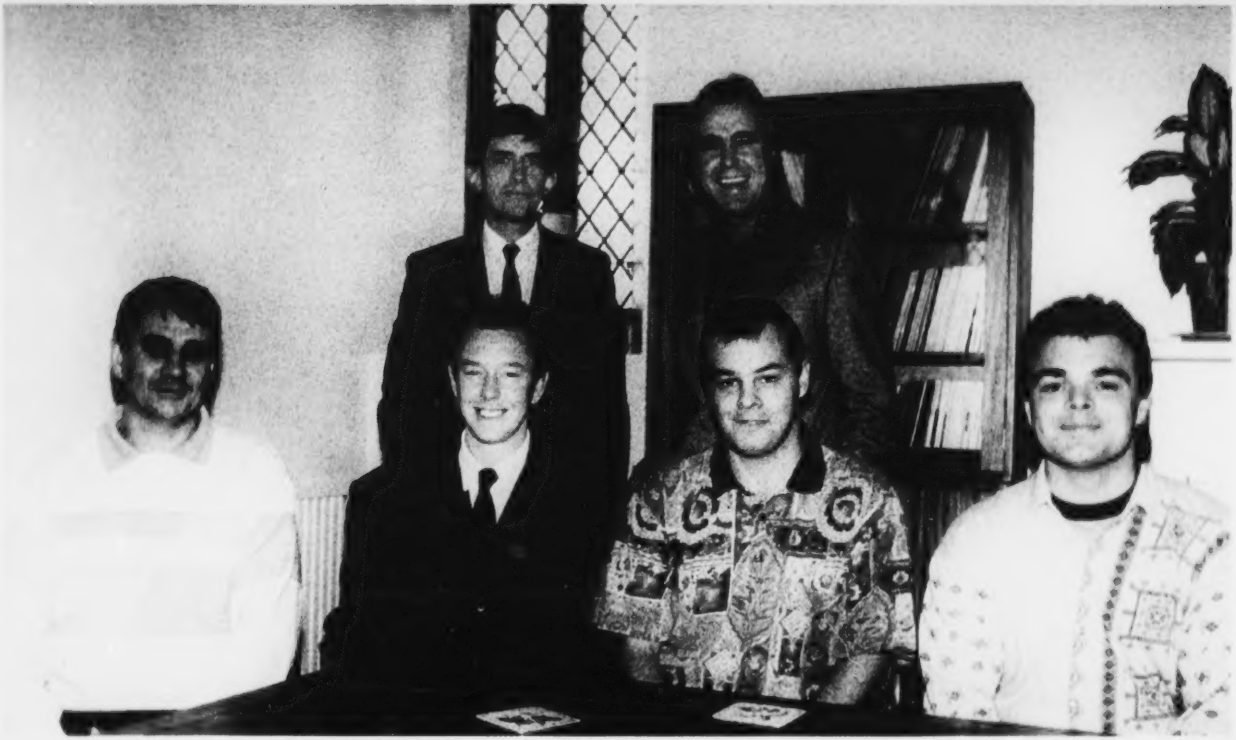

Staff with students from the last Miners' Day-Release course, November 1991, after the award of the Certificate in Industrial Studies

Departmental Staff Photograph, December 1994

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Researching the Education of Adults

Miriam Zukas

Introduction

The Department has always aimed to demonstrate that its subject tutors are academics who are as good as, if not better than, staff in internal departments. Indeed, most individuals appointed to the Department's staff came as subject specialists with a record of scholarship in their own discipline, and many were successful in maintaining and developing their academic respectability and, in some cases, excellence in their own field. The Department has a long and distinguished research record in subject-based research and, although this book does not contain a complete record, reference is made elsewhere to some of the more famous individual researchers. Subject-based research was and continues to be evidence that the full-time staff of an extramural department are comparable in scholarship to those employed in internal departments.

But the Department has also had a second and, for individuals, sometimes incompatible ambition: the striving to establish itself as a centre of excellence for adult (later to be known as continuing) education research.[1] Raybould initiated the first explorations of this new research field in his fight for the Department's academic respectability; adult education research later became the vehicle for those individuals wishing to progress up the ladder of academic success within the extramural world. Now, because of recent changes in the funding of universities, continuing education research is once more an imperative for the Department if it is to maintain an academic identity as a research department.

My discussion here is incomplete in two ways. First of all, the history of subject-based research is worthy of its own book; the individual and collective contributions made by members of the Department to their own academic fields are quite astonishing both in their quality and variety. But it is this heterogeneity and the sheer quantity of research that makes it difficult to summarize in any meaningful way in a chapter. The selection of a few famous examples would be invidious. So, although subject-based and continuing education research continue to be the basis for scholarship, and although they obviously overlap and are interdependent, I restrict my discussion in this chapter to the Department's record on its second early research ambition—to become a centre of excellence for adult education research.

Secondly, a complete analysis of the Department's record on continuing education research would also entail the examination of all the constituent parts of the old department—that is, it would include both the Department of Continuing Professional Education and the Study of Continuing Education Unit as well as the Department of Adult Continuing Education. All three have strong research records in continuing education, but, to save repetition and space, I have left to others this discussion of the first two.[2]

Staking a claim[3]

Many of those initially appointed to the Department were already engaged in some form of research or scholarship but tutors were not seen as academic staff by the University, and were not paid as University lecturers, until 1947. The battlefield for the fight for equality was staff research—in particular, adult education research—and the first indications of this appeared by the time of the third annual report, in which Raybould began actively promoting the staff's research to demonstrate both the staff's academic credentials and the Department's legitimacy.

While he recognized that staff were carrying out research in their own disciplines, and he encouraged such research as a demonstration of the quality of staff appointed to the Department, Raybould's insistence on the establishment of the Department's claim to a new research field—that of the study of adult education—was a judicious and politically successful gambit with important consequences. First of all, the construction of a departmental expertise in adult education research meant that the Department could be seen as having a unique academic identity just like any other department in the University. Secondly, it opened up the possibilities of academic promotion for both Raybould and his staff. Over the next forty years, for many ambitious men (inevitably) who wished to make their names both inside and outside the University, adult education research provided the route. While some were genuinely more interested in adult education research than in their subject disciplines, more than one shrewd academic moved towards adult education research for instrumental reasons—in order to increase his chances of promotion in what was a less competitive field than some of the longer-established subject areas. These twin engines of departmental strategy and individual interest underlie much of the rest of the story of adult education research in the Department.

Although Raybould used several tactics to create the Department's academic credentials, including the establishment of joint appointments with internal departments, the field of adult education provided his strongest argument. The evidence began to accumulate when the Department started to produce its own adult education research, beginning with a very thorough survey of tutorial class students in 1947,[4] followed shortly by the launch of the departmental research series, *Adult Education Papers*.

From 1950 to 1954, staff were encouraged (if not commanded) to write papers about aspects of adult education for distribution around the Department.[5] The papers were intended to provide a staff forum for discussion of issues of adult education 'until substantial agreement has been reached concerning them' and to enable staff 'to submit interim accounts of research work on which they may be engaged' so that others might learn from and perhaps comment on such work.[6] But they were also intended to display to the outside world the serious academic intentions of the staff.

The papers are a fascinating record of the concerns of staff, and their scholastic abilities. While some are passionately argued essays on particular aspects of the curriculum (for example, the place of music and law in adult education) or policy on teaching (including a lengthy debate on standards),[7] others are evidence of original research, such as Charles Johnson's extensive study on 'Prejudice and the Appreciation of Literature',[8] John McLeish's comprehensive study of 'Intelligence Test Scores of Adult Students',[9] and Norman Jepson's 'University Extension Lecturers'.[10]

By 1951, Raybould's tactics within the University, based on his recognition of the importance of adult education research, won the Department the right to change its title to the Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies:

> to indicate that the Department is now regarded as an academic department of the University, concerned not merely with the promotion of extramural classes, but with enquiry into and teaching about Adult Education considered as a distinctive field of study.[11]

By 1953, staff were allowed to call themselves lecturers, and to apply for the normal academic promotions. At this point, the first promotion to senior lecturer was made and Raybould was appointed to the newly-established Chair of Adult Education.

Gentlemen scholars and individual careers

With the change of departmental name and the equalizing of staff status came the clear departmental responsibility to encourage staff to conduct research and the possibilities for staff to claim the academic glories available elsewhere in the University. In order to allow adequate time for reading and research, staff were not expected to organize classes and their teaching programme was regulated. They were supported in their pursuit of higher degrees and 'encouraged in other ways to do research work, and to seek assistance in it from the appropriate internal departments—assistance which was invariably readily forthcoming'.[12]

By the mid to late 1950s, vigorous research existed in both subject-based research and in the study of adult education, although the latter was perhaps less immediately appealing to those trying to retain a standing in their original academic arenas. (And of course this tension exists today.) While staff produced many distinguished journal papers and books in their own fields, and were supported in doing so on an individual basis, the Department took a more strategic role in ensuring the continuation of adult education research.

The promotion of the study of adult education was ensured through the establishment in 1953 of lectureships in adult education.[13] While those lecturers so named continued to teach extramural classes, the Ministry of Education agreed that they should be given a reduced teaching programme to allow them time to carry out research in adult education. At first the lectureships were filled on a temporary basis so that some members of staff managed to spend several years studying a particular aspect of adult education. In the 1960s, some appointments were made on an extended basis to ensure the maintenance of research in the history, psychology, methodology and sociology of adult education. This practice continued until the creation of the Adult Education Division in 1969.

The practice of reduced teaching loads did not discourage other less fortunate lecturers from researching adult education. *Trends in English Adult Education*, a collection of essays written mainly by members of staff, edited by Raybould and published in 1959, displayed the talents of many. Thus, even those who were not privileged with special dispensations participated in the flourish of adult education research activity during the 1950s and 1960s.

One major factor for the success of both subject-based and adult education scholarship was the yearly cycle of teaching. The model of the tutor who taught intensively during the period from September to March and then spent the rest of the year engaged in scholarly activities is one that seems incredible in the 1990s. The prospect of six months of peace to progress one's research in an atmosphere which valued research for its own sake (rather than as a means to an end, as it has sometimes been perceived in the last few years) leaves academics today envious of the luxury and irritated by its complete disappearance (despite the misconceptions of those outside the university system).

A second factor was Raybould's early insistence that staff be allowed enough time to get on with research by protecting them from organizing responsibilities. The outcomes of such amenable working conditions were impressive. In 1964, for example, it was reported that three books by members of staff had been published and five others were in press. This was a remarkable achievement for a Department despised by some in the University (although very well respected further afield).

At least two other factors account for the Department's research successes. Staff were encouraged to study for and complete doctoral theses (a tradition that continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s), although these were very often in subject specialisms rather than adult education. And in 1967, Raybould's Department took a new direction in encouraging research on adult education. A publications fund was set up

> to facilitate the publication of books which are needed for the study of the subject and for teaching purposes, but which might not be published without financial support and might not be written without some prospect of publication.[14]

Books published included John Lowe's *Adult Education in England and Wales: A critical survey*, and a collection on *University Studies for Adults* by staff in the Birmingham and Leeds extramural departments.[15]

Despite Raybould's recognition of the importance of adult education research to the whole Department, the question of whether to pursue adult education research had become the choice of individual scholars, rather than departmental policy by the mid 1960s. The reasons for this change in policy are speculative but it has been suggested that they lie with Raybould himself. He had achieved what he wanted within the University. He had a strong and well-resourced department; he had his own chair; he was also very heavily involved with adult education abroad and was spending far less time on academic research in his own Department. The urgency had disappeared and, as a shrewd political operator, Raybould was perhaps rather less interested in research for its own sake than as a political tool. Whatever the reasons, this lack of direction was to prove unhelpful during the next phase of the Department.

Dividing up: research in the divisions

In 1969, the new divisional structure was set up within the Department and this exacerbated the demise of departmental policy on adult education research. Without wishing to claim that the divisional structure was an unfortunate development overall, the streamlining of structure and the new managerial arrangements had a marked and deleterious effect on adult education research.

First of all, the new structure ensured that only those in the Adult Education Division were charged with the study of adult education. The funding position of the Division[16] meant that the Department could only afford to allow two individuals to spend the greater part of their teaching time on adult education. Another eight members of staff (reducing over the years) belonged to the Division because they intended to devote some time to research into adult education or contributed in a small way to divisional courses. However, despite their representation as recorded in the annual reports throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, very little research on adult education was carried out by those employed elsewhere in the Department. They were far too busy developing research either in their subject areas or within Applied Social Studies.

Secondly, the Department moved into a period of troubled and acrimonious discussions about the purposes of liberal adult education. The staff seminars were launched in 1974.[17] This was a particularly volatile period for many individuals who were also involved in radical politics outside the Department, and a time of great passion in political debate. For many, the seminars provided a chance to challenge received wisdoms and to introduce more radical perspectives into the Department's mission. For some, they also appeared to be an opportunity for intellectual honesty and openness. But, of course, the arguments raised moral dilemmas that were not open to compromise. And the atmosphere of argument allowed some individuals to sharpen their skills of thrust and parry at the expense of others. The circulation of passionate and sometimes vitriolic papers between 1974 and 1976 resulted in damaging divisions and a virtual freeze on discussion of research within the Liberal Studies Division. In the resulting atmosphere, most individuals retreated into their own disciplines to escape the hostilities, and many of those in other divisions were not tempted to join the fray.

Furthermore, during this period, the Department had little overall sense of what its research priorities should be: 'There is, perhaps, a need for the Department to be more systematic in determining its priorities in research and in acquiring funds.'[18] This was quite understandable with the four divisions pulling in different directions. While the Applied Social Studies Division had great success in attracting research funds, and by 1979 had succeeded in gaining a grant from the DHSS for a project on 'Social Work and Ethnic Diversity', any other research funding resulted from individuals' applications for money to support themselves on study leave.[19]

By 1976, the academic identity of the Department was so fragmented that staff were unable to decide whether or not to join the Faculty of Education. One group clearly did not see the Department, with its wide range of subject specialisms and its need to retain a great deal of flexibility to meet the needs of individuals and organizations in the community, as fitting into a Faculty of Education. The other group believed that membership of the Faculty of Education would promote a greater exchange of ideas as between one education department and another and would enable the Department of Adult Education to exercise influence on educational thinking within the University.[20] While this debate was not specifically about research, it demonstrates the deep divide between those involved in the study of adult education and those who were rather more removed. Many individuals felt that adult education research was more or less irrelevant to their concerns and, of course, the physical separation of individuals at that time did little to enhance discussion.

Those working in the Adult Education Division continued to research the field and to write. And, despite the divisional atmosphere, a few individuals in the Liberal Studies Division found their way almost by accident into adult education research, either through commissioned research or through adjacent subject-based research interests.

By 1978, the Adult Education Division was faced with a crisis. Although it had been moving in the direction of postgraduate work, the DES flatly refused to support its work with the block grant.[21] The Division reassessed its role in the Department and agreed to provide some form of leadership in the area of adult education research. The Division decided to

> assume responsibility for identifying research projects that are being undertaken by the Department, try to ensure their monitoring, encourage the exchange of ideas and the formation of groups among researchers with common interests, draw attention to and encourage the use of available financial and other resources ...[22]

and set up a research group with a member of staff on women and adult education. However, even this attempt at supporting research appeared to fade quickly.

Collapsing the divide: 1982–87

By 1982, the divisional structure had been disbanded and the two central figures in the Adult Education Division, Stuart Marriott and George Hauger, had been transferred to UGC funding, allowing them to pursue postgraduate teaching and supervision without interference from the DES. The new Department of Adult and Continuing Education supposedly united the study of adult education with both extramural provision and professional updating, but the separate funding of these activities ensured that there was little overlap between those pursuing research interests in adult education, applied social studies researchers and those funded by the DES.

Despite this lack of unity, the annual reports of the mid 1980s show a Department which was newly aware of its responsibilities for research and scholarship. Publications by members of staff were listed in the annual report from 1983/84; the Department also provided the editor for *Studies in the Education of Adults* (Stuart Marriott) and the officers of SCUTREA (Stuart Marriott and myself); the 'Leeds Studies' series had been resurrected (and had published monographs by Stuart Marriott and Roger Fieldhouse); and staff continued to secure doctorates. Furthermore, individuals and groups began to pursue funds for research and consultancy with determination. Clearly, the very tight financial squeeze brought about by UGC cuts encouraged the hunt for alternative, albeit short-term, forms of funding.

This newly proactive and research-conscious atmosphere also provided the backdrop for a radically different approach to adult education research. Pioneer Work had been created as a subsection of Liberal Studies in 1982, with Richard Taylor as its director, and one of its briefs was a programme of research aimed both at identifying the educational needs of socially and economically disadvantaged groups, and analysing educational innovation in this area.

This shift from an individual to a team approach to adult education research proved to be a very successful formula. Over the next few years, with the financial support of the DES and others, the Pioneer Work team conceptualized and wrote about their work as a series of action research projects.[23] Together with a score of publications, the appearance of *Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the missing millions*[24] in 1986 enabled those involved to argue convincingly that they had succeeded in meeting their original responsibility to conduct a programme of research, which brought the Department national and even international renown.

Towards the end of this period of buoyancy and even optimism, the DES introduced a new source of funding for 'innovative projects'. Although these were concerned at first with provision rather than research, they appeared to be conceived of as action research in that they enabled departments to explore new and previously untried areas of provision (both in terms of target groups and subjects) and emphasized the importance of dissemination; later, with the switch of funding to the UFC in 1989, the money was ring-fenced and used to fund research in continuing education (see below). The Department was awarded a one-year project on new technology (later extended to two) for which I was the co-ordinator.

Schooling for research

In 1987, the reorganization of the Department into a federal School with two departments and a Study of Continuing Education Unit appeared to separate completely the provision of courses for adults (be they extramural or post-qualifying) from the study of adult (now continuing) education. The consequences for continuing education research were, however, remarkable. Instead of one department claiming expertise in this area, there were now three with complementary and sometimes competing interests. As I said in the introduction, the discussion below is restricted to the Department of External Studies (later Adult Continuing Education) which retained the large majority of the academic staff.

Many of those staff were already engaged in continuing education research through Pioneer Work; others were involved in making Leeds an internationally recognized centre for continuing education research. For example, in 1988, Kevin Ward and Keith Forrester organized an international conference at Ruskin College on adult education responses to unemployment (the first of several such conferences), while I organized an international adult education research conference in Leeds, sponsored jointly by SCUTREA and research organizations in Canada and the USA.

However, despite the Department's extensive activities through Pioneer Work, continuing education research still seemed somewhat removed from many individuals' concerns. Only one other person from External Studies (as we were then called) attended the SCUTREA conference of 1988, despite its presence on the Department's doorstep.[25]

On our own again

In 1990, the federal structure was disbanded, largely because it was incompatible with the new cost-centring system within the University. The transfer of funding from the DES to the UFC encouraged the Department to reconsider how best to survive as an academic department. Its solution was very much in line with Raybould's thinking so many years before: the Department believed that it could and should continue to build its portfolio of continuing education research. The creation of a new developmental chair in adult continuing education, to which Richard Taylor was appointed, renewed the Department's confidence in its research role.

The transfer of funding to the UFC had a very important consequence for continuing education research. In 1988, in preparation for the transfer, the Department had participated in the UFC's second research selectivity exercise which graded all university departments according to research performance. Although the exercise was later to be linked to funding, that first experience proved to be something of a confused and confusing process for both continuing education and the UFC.

The reason for the confusion arose because of the dual research interests of those in the world of continuing education. Staff in Continuing Education departments are both subject specialists and continuing educators. The academic credibility of individual members might come from research in their 'parent' discipline, from research in continuing education or, indeed, from both sources. It is therefore difficult to know how to assess the research performance of a multi- and inter-disciplinary department when those assessing will have a detailed academic understanding of only a part of the staff's research activities. And it is in a department's interests for staff to maintain a good research standing within their teaching subject (thus demonstrating the quality of the teaching) while also pursuing continuing education research (as recognized by Raybould so many years ago).

Thus, the first exercise in which departments like ours participated allowed both subject and continuing education research to be submitted to a separate continuing education advisory group, which then found it almost impossible to judge. The panel awarded Leeds a rating of 3 (the highest for any continuing education department), although little notice was taken of the ratings.

As a consequence of this time-wasting charade, where the separate continuing education panel was 'hampered by the ambiguity of guidance as to how continuing education was to be treated and presented',[26] and in recognition that research assessments were to become more rather than less important, the Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education (UCACE) persuaded the UFC that continuing education research should receive pump-priming funding to enable ex-RB departments to improve their research track records. The Department (and the University) was in a very good position to sweep up the money, awarded competitively.

The outcome for Leeds was excellent. The Department, the Study of Continuing Education Unit in the School of Education and the Department of Continuing Professional Education were all eligible to bid. Together, they steadily increased Leeds's share of the research funding so that, by 1992, it had claimed one-sixth of the total UFC continuing education research money. The Department was able to support three two-year projects on its own and one jointly with the Study of Continuing Education Unit. The last projects ended in 1994.

The Department's proactive campaign to secure research funding from other sources also resulted in a much bigger portfolio of research and development projects, so that in 1992, there were some fifteen projects, at least eight of which were directly concerned with continuing education.

At the same time, the next research assessment exercise took place. This time, the stakes were higher. With the increasing costs of an expanded higher education system, the UFC (soon to become the Higher Education Funding Council) was being urged by the government and others to fund research and teaching in a more selective manner. The UFC intended to use the outcomes of the research assessment exercise to allocate research funds to universities and, in a resource-centred university like Leeds, this was to have a direct impact on the funding of departments.

It was therefore imperative that departments gained as high a research assessment as possible: but the instructions for continuing education departments were once more confusing.[27] In the event, the exercise was once more a shambles for continuing education and, despite demands from the Education panel and others (including the Vice-Chancellor of this University) for a separate unit of assessment, the next exercise seems certain to be equally problematic.[28]

The pressures of the research assessment exercise, the growth in the Department's research activities and the resulting increase in the number of researchers employed, together with the Department's recognition of the importance of research for its future financial as well as academic existence, led to the creation of a new research and postgraduate unit in the Department in 1992. This time, instead of making continuing education research the responsibility of named individuals (as with the adult education lectureships in the 1950s), or separating the function off into a separate division (as in the creation of the Adult Education Division in 1969), the unit is supposed to bring together the Department's diverse continuing education research functions and the burgeoning postgraduate work. I was appointed as the first co-ordinator and was joined recently by Tom Steele. One of our main responsibilities is to encourage and support continuing education research throughout the Department and, through the departmental research strategy group, to establish research priorities. It is too early to say whether or not this policy-orientated approach will be more successful than earlier attempts.

Conclusions

The engines of policy and individual interest still underpin continuing education research in the Department but they are no longer equal. As in Raybould's day, the Department cannot sustain its academic credibility without full-time staff, but this time it cannot fund its full-time staff without academic recognition through research assessment. The once benevolent attitude which allowed staff to research whatever they wished cannot continue in this world of strategy and competition. While many individuals chose to pursue adult education research (be it for their own academic reasons, career opportunities or both) in the first fifty years, academic staff are now faced with a collective financial imperative to become involved in continuing education research. At the same time, the rigours of quality assessment in subject teaching demand that our staff continue to be successful researchers in their subject areas as well. These demands may be incompatible, but there appears to be no obvious medium-term solution except one of compromise and balance between subject-based and continuing education research.

And what do I mean by continuing education research? Throughout this chapter, I have avoided any attempt to pin down exactly what was and is meant by adult, and now continuing, education research in the Department. Nevertheless, I should end with some indication of the direction of such research over the coming years. Sidney Raybould's original mission was based on a very specific understanding of what university adult education should be, and therefore what adult education research should be about (although not necessarily how it should be done). While Raybouldian adult education (that is, the three-year tutorial class and the ideology that underpinned it) has not often formed the basis for the Department's research, there has continued to be one main theme running through many of the contributions: the study of adult education defined as being outside further or higher education. However, the recent integration of continuing education into higher education, the increasing interchange between adult, further and higher education, and the move towards a more professional approach to training at work, has given those of us who defined ourselves in terms of continuing education a broader vision. We have begun to talk about the post-compulsory education and training sector; indeed, together with our former colleagues and others in the School of Education, we have launched a new Master's programme in post-compulsory education and training.

Perhaps this newly integrated approach will enable us to investigate systematically the education of adults; perhaps universities like Leeds should consider bringing together those with research interests in the post-compulsory sector. But whatever the boundaries of continuing education research, as in the early 1950s, it is likely to hold the key to the Department's academic credibility and future.

References

1 Until the mid 1980s, the study of the education of adults was usually called adult education (as symbolized in the title of the Department until 1982). Since then it has become more common to refer to research in this field as continuing education research (again reflected in the title of the Study of Continuing Education Unit created in 1987). For the sake of accuracy, I switch from one term to the other towards the end of this chapter.

2 See Frankie Todd's chapter on continuing professional education (Chapter 4) and Stuart Marriott's chapter on postgraduate education (Chapter 14) in this volume.

3 In their contributions to this volume, both Roger Fieldhouse and Stuart Marriott discuss in more detail the establishment of the Department's academic status in the late 1940s and early 1950s (see Chapters 1 and 14), but some points are worth reiterating in relation to research.

4 University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, 'Tutorial Class Students: Report of an enquiry carried out in the session 1946–47'.

5 Mention is made of these *Adult Education Papers* for the first time in University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, *Annual Report*, 1949/50.

6 S. G. Raybould 'Foreword', *Adult Education Papers* 1:1 (1950).

7 Roger Fieldhouse and Roy Shaw discuss this more fully in their contributions to this volume. See Chapters 1 and 2.

8 *Adult Education Papers* 1:1, 51–75; 1:2, 40–65; and 1:3, 32–61.

9 *Adult Education Papers* 2:1, 27–47.

10 *Adult Education Papers* 3:2, whole number.

11 University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, *Annual Report*, 1950/51, 6.

12 Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, *Tenth Annual Report*, 1955/56, 10–11.

13 See Stuart Marriott's contribution to this volume, Chapter 14, for a much fuller discussion.

14 Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, *Twenty-one Years of Adult Education* (1967), 15.

15 And, despite some disruption in the 1970s, the series continues successfully (for example, this book).

16 This is explored more fully by Stuart Marriott in Chapter 14.

17 These are also discussed by Roger Fieldhouse in Chapter 1.

18 *Annual Report*, 1976/77, 10.

19 Throughout the 1970s and 1980s one or two members of staff took study leave for the year, usually (although not always) to complete a particular piece of research or a doctoral thesis. While staff did not have to account for their study leave time, as organizational responsibilities grew, the privilege of study leave was (and still is) fiercely guarded by the Department. Until its more systematic organization in the mid 1980s, study leave sometimes seemed to be a reward for staff taking on additional or unpopular responsibilities.

20 *Annual Report*, 1975/76, 10.

21 Stuart Marriott discusses this in more detail in Chapter 14.

22 *Annual Report*, 1977/78.

23 This interpretation of action research is worthy of its own discussion, but there is no space here to contrast the approach with more traditional interpretations of adult education research.

24 K. Ward and R. Taylor (eds), *Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the missing millions* (Croom Helm, 1986).

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25 Happily, this is no longer the case. Five members of staff and two students from the Department presented papers at the 1994 conference.

26 Chris Duke, 'Beyond Separatism: The future of continuing education research following the 1992 research assessment exercise', UACE Working Paper No 4. *Research Selectivity and Continuing Education*, 1994, 12.

27 Leeds's return, which combined all the continuing education stakeholders in an apparently seamless continuum of continuing education research, went forward with the University's Education return. However, despite the presence of three academics who made up the continuing education panel which was an adjunct of the Education panel, universities did not receive separate continuing education ratings. Instead, universities were given an all-round score for education (in Leeds's case, 5) and left to interpret what their continuing education departments had scored. In this difficult situation the University awarded the Department of Adult Continuing Education a formula allocation for research money based on a notional 3 grade.

28 Subject-based research will have to be returned through subject departments; this has several disadvantages. The Department might not be given the academic credibility which it needs to teach subjects at all undergraduate levels either because of poor performance on the part of other departments or because a single individual would not be seen to have 'earned' the research rating. Furthermore, subject departments may not wish to enter such research in their return if they feel that it falls outside their research profile. It might also be difficult to disaggregate the research funding for a particular individual from the total funding for the subject which is likely to go to the subject department.

16

Subject Teaching in the Department over 50 Years

The Most Extramural Subject? History, especially Local History, at Leeds

Tony Donajgrodzki

A history of extramural history would have to be a history of histories since, important as the subject has been throughout the Department's existence, no single tradition and no single format of provision has ever prevailed. The importance of the subject to the Department is easily established. History has been a paradigmatic liberal adult education subject, a central component in adult education research at Leeds, and an element in the Department's various radicalizing agendas (from social history for farm labourers to community history on council estates). It has contributed significantly to Access courses and Extension Certificate work and is the most important of the Department's undergraduate subjects. History has been taught on day schools, summer schools, sessional courses, tutorial and certificate classes, to undergraduates and as part of the MEd. When new interdisciplinary initiatives have been planned it has been 'natural' for the Department to think of history as an appropriate contributory element. The proportion of departmental staff (academic and administrative) who have been historians during the last fifty years, many occupying senior positions, has probably been higher than for any other subject. They include, in Edward Thompson and John Harrison, two of the most distinguished scholars so far produced by the Department outside the field of adult and continuing education.

Despite this, no single extramural history has emerged at Leeds. The closest the Department came to developing and articulating a distinctive extramural approach was perhaps in the tutorial class in local history, whose characteristics are discussed below. Even this represented only one part of extramural history, whose merits were never wholly unquestioned by other historians (or other subject specialists) in the Department. Departmental organization, which has tended to emphasize interdisciplinary units based on funding and function rather than ones based on discipline, the differing composition and needs of student groups, varying political and scholarly perspectives of individual staff members sharing in the general autonomy to devise and teach syllabuses of their own choosing, go some way to explaining why a single extramural history did not develop. There were of course some common opportunities and constraints arising from the need of most historians to negotiate syllabuses with their students, to teach multi-ability groups, and to take account of constraints on students' time and access to books and libraries. These considerations have influenced choice of period (relatively little medieval, some early modern, almost no ancient and a great deal of modern history has been taught), the type of history taught (little economic, less political, high proportions of social and local history) and the geographical focus (mostly English, often with a northern bias). In addition, the Department's historians (like all its academic staff) have shared a common academic environment produced by the need year on year to generate new courses and fresh syllabuses, sometimes requiring the development of new subject areas and methodologies, as the requirements of the negotiated syllabus were met and met again. This has distinguished them from their colleagues in internal departments from whom in any case they have tended to remain isolated.

None of these similarities produced a single extramural history and nor did possession of a common discipline result in a single historians' perspective or an academic front (though it came close to doing so at Middlesbrough in the early 1980s). In fact the various practitioners of history have tended to work independently of one another. Repeated attempts to form subject groups have met with little sustained success.

In consequence a full history of extramural history would require the tracing of many strands. There was the international history of the immediate post-war period, rooted in the popular interest in social reconstruction and all but extinct by the end of the 1960s. British social history was a more enduring academic field in which individual scholars contributed to the emergence of a new sub-discipline of history on a national scale. Here, John Harrison's textbook *The Early Victorians* was perhaps as noteworthy a contribution to emerge from extramural praxis as the more celebrated works of Thompson and Harrison himself. In the 1970s, community history and oral history were developed on a small scale and in the last ten years women's history and black history have begun to be developed. Throughout, as is well known, adult education research at Leeds has had a strong historical focus. In the Department's fifty years, however, no branch of history illustrates better than local history the achievements and limitations of extramural histories, as well as the internally and externally politically charged existence of an apparently rather straightforward subject.

If there is a single paradigmatic extramural subject it must be local history. It has been popular with students across the whole extramural area, from Cleveland, the Vale of York and the Wolds to the Pennine Dales and the industrial West Riding. Without it, the Department could have maintained no serious pretensions to service its extramural area outside Leeds, Bradford and Middlesbrough where, it should be said, history has also been popular. Its appeal is to all sizes of community, from the large cities mentioned above (and the urban villages within them), to industrial and market towns, rural and industrial villages and hamlets. One summer evening in the late 1980s I stood with Barry Harrison outside an isolated former chapel in deepest rural Rosedale, North Yorkshire. With ten minutes to the start of the class there was no sign of a student and little sign of any settlement from which any might come. There were twenty or so people by the time the class started. Local history has been not only enduringly popular but versatile and adaptive in format and content. Tutorial classes of three to five years or longer, day and weekend schools, summer schools, certificated and undergraduate provision have all recruited constituencies of committed students. Over the years, the classical local history of the Hoskins tradition was developed to include demographic studies, vernacular architecture, industrial history and oral history.

Local history's popularity has been such a constant feature of departmental experience that few have reflected on the reasons for it. Yet they are worth considering if we are to explain departmental ambivalence towards the subject, for its popular appeal to students has never been shared unequivocally by the Department outside a hard core of practitioners. So what have been the sources of its appeal? One would seem to be the significance of a specific locality to both natives and newcomers. Within many local history groups 'our study, ourselves', surely the most proper theme for continuing education, has meant an exploration of self and community through study of a defined actual and symbolic terrain. This has been both a source of strength and limitation, since the enthusiasm, and sometimes passion, brought to local study has often been matched by an equal and opposite uninterest in, and even antipathy towards, life beyond the local frontier. I found, in a long acquaintance, that Armley 'squareheads' had little interest in Wortley, Bramley and more distant places.

The organization of learning has been another source of appeal. Local history as developed at Leeds has been hands-on study, involving immediate access to primary sources, whether these were tithe maps, wills and inventories or man-made features of the local landscape. In no other branch of history, so far as I am aware, is the beginner brought into contact with primary source material and detailed study before undergoing a trawl of the secondary literature. To mature students, this immediacy often has an immense appeal. It carries, too, of course, its own costs and disadvantages, the chief of which are the heavy burden of preparation required of tutors, the difficulties of escaping narrow parochialism, escape only made possible through the broadened experience of secondary reading. Localism might defeat the objects of liberal education in such instances.

Two other sources of local history's appeal need to be mentioned. One is that students could work in many cases towards a clearly defined group outcome: a pamphlet, an exhibition or even a book. Jennings's *History of Nidderdale* (1967) and Fieldhouse and Jennings's *History of Richmond and Swaledale* (1978) are only the best-known and substantial of many products of sustained group work. Each illustrates the strengths and limitations of extramural history. They are strong in the kind of information a local study of local sources could yield, on vernacular architecture, for example, or the demographic findings of the nineteenth-century census. Neither, however, is (and neither claims to be) a co-ordinated history of its dale, placing local experiences within a regional or national context. They are, to bring us to the second source of local history's appeal, products of a negotiated syllabus within what was to some extent a negotiated discipline, or sub-discipline. Classes could and did negotiate with tutors both on subject matter and, implicitly at least, on methodology which was usually straightforward and empirical in character and practical in approach. One eminent former departmental local historian remarked to me that reflection on history was the sort of thing best left to broken-down historians no longer capable of working in the field. Most of his students would perhaps have agreed.

An extramural local history defined in these ways flourished under Raybould and into the early 1980s for compelling practical and academic reasons. Materially, its popularity meant that local history was not only cost-effective but supported more risky experimental work in other subject areas. Geographically, as has been said, its contribution was indispensable. Its growth and character were defined by Raybould's policies and preoccupations. Local History was a key link in the partnership with the WEA at every level, including staffing, where notable local historians (Jennings, Fieldhouse and Harrison) entered the Department from the WEA. It proved easily adaptable to Raybould's definition of university standards in terms of length of study, and student work of demonstrably high quality in a subject clearly geared to and shaped by adult needs. In the University, local history filled an unproblematic niche, encroaching on the freeholds of neither the (now) School of Business and Economic Studies nor the School of History.

By the early 1980s, local history was embattled, despite its earlier successes and in spite of its continuing appeal to students, for internal and external reasons. In the factional disputes following Raybould's departure, local history, like archaeology, suffered as staff resources were switched to other academic subject areas. No new full-time staff appointment was made in local history between 1969 and 1992, despite the departure of three local historians. Externally, the beginnings of cut-backs in University funding from the mid 1970s had serious implications for a subject which made heavy demands on resources in terms of preparation (much material had to be taken direct from archives; little could be used more than once), materials (copious teaching aids were required) and full-time staff (local history was so laborious that it was difficult to staff with part-timers on any scale). The changing relationship with the WEA brought further problems outside the main urban areas. Local history retreated from much of the West Riding. Outside Bradford its main strength was to be found on the fringes of the extramural area, especially in Cleveland.

Attempts to innovate in the new circumstances (such as the Local History 'Circus' courses run from Middlesbrough) showed that it was possible to establish direct provision in small communities on a cost-effective basis. Significantly, however, successful pilots did not lead to embedded provision of this type. To all intents and purposes, the local history of the tutorial-class tradition is now in abeyance at Leeds. It is difficult to envisage circumstances in which ever again it will be possible to resource the kind of provision that led to Jennings's or Fieldhouse's publications.

Since the mid 1980s the key developmental area in local history (and perhaps in extramural history as a whole) has been in part-time degrees, where in 1989 the Department began teaching the local and regional history component of BA joint honours degrees. Although this was not the first undergraduate course in history to be taught by the Department (this was introduced a year earlier in the BA Humanities), the scale of undergraduate provision was unprecedented, since approval was secured to teach all three levels of the degree. Successful recruitment permitted the first new full-time teaching appointment in local history for twenty years.

The degree provision is in local and regional history and the change in title represents a real change in content. A new type of teaching is emerging, drawing on the intellectual capital and experiences of the tutorial class, but distinct from it. Syllabuses are defined rather than negotiated, emphasis is on individual rather than group work, and the focus is regional rather than local. The students are not the same constituency as those of the tutorial class, although a few have been drawn to the undergraduate study of local and regional history through some experience of the Department's local history work. It might be said, in fact, that the most extramural subject has gone internal and with a vengeance, at least for the moment. The constant elements in the history of local history at Leeds are its versatility and durability, its potential for adaptation to suit new funding environments, and academic policy and politics within and outside the Department. All rest on a powerful impulse from the community which no serious continuing education department can ignore or destroy.

From Appreciation to Engagement: Fifty Years of Literature Teaching

Luke Spencer

At almost exactly the midway point in the life of the Leeds Department its newly-retired director, Sidney Raybould, co-edited a collection of essays in 1972 entitled *University Studies for Adults*. The volume was a joint venture between Leeds and Birmingham universities with contributions from staff members of both extramural departments. A chapter called 'An Old Way to Pay New Debts—the teaching of Literature' was written by Gareth Lloyd Evans of Birmingham. It is a good example of how extramural literature teaching was regarded by one of its most experienced practitioners, a man whose views can also be taken as representative of one important strand of critical and pedagogic thinking throughout adult and higher education.

Evans sets his face squarely against any notion that literature tutors should offer a species of social therapy or social welfare to 'WEA groups, or ... Women's Institutes'.[1] As regards social therapy, tutors like himself (all male in both departments, so far as I can discover) would, as a matter of course, be familiar with those 'innumerable talks on poetry, which were rarely expected or intended to do more than flip the outer elastic of the minds and hearts of tired housewives belonging to some organisation'. Women are regularly cited by Evans as the chief demanders and recipients of a 'therapeutic effect' whereby 'Rupert Brooke could be said to do more for them than often God or a husband could'. When his focus shifts from the 'vague self-indulgence' of social therapy to the more challenging area of social welfare his representative student promptly changes sex to become as incorrigibly male as the artist 'himself'.

The villain of the piece in social welfare approaches to literature is, according to Evans, politics. His students' enthusiasm for identifying social attitudes in Evans's chosen texts is briskly condemned as a 'warping' approach on a par with the official distortions practised in the Soviet Union. Such distaste for the sinister intrusion of ideology into the transcendent realm of art is perfectly anticipated by a study of 'Prejudice and the Appreciation of Literature' conducted twenty years earlier by a Leeds Department tutor in literature and psychology, Charles Johnson. The results of a series of tests which he conducted on an all-male class of industrial workers (miners, it appears) were published in the first three numbers of the departmental journal *Adult Education Papers* in 1950. In his Foreword, Johnson says 'This experiment was undertaken to discover the extent to which working-men students in University Tutorial Classes were blinded to literary values by prejudices peculiar to their experience of and outlook on life'.[2] The 'prejudices' in question range from dog-loving to socialism, but they all interfere to differing degrees with 'purely literary judgements'.

Despite a shorter working day and a 'standard of living incomparably higher' than that of nineteenth-century workers, the men are 'spiritually flaccid' and easily driven to 'compensatory activities of the most dubious sort—bitter political strife, the consuming of Hollywood dope, and daydreams of sudden wealth'. If this shares some of the concern about mass commercial culture that Richard Hoggart (himself an extramural literature tutor) was to voice a few years later in 1957, in *The Uses of Literacy*, it offers none of Hoggart's sympathy for the privations and answering strengths of working-class life. Johnson resorts again and again to a sniffiness towards his students that can now be recognized as the endemic élitism of those whose role was that of policing both the content of the literary canon and the precise manner in which it should be 'appreciated': 'Floundering in an ocean of inferior print almost from birth, they had read far too much with too little care'. But, at bottom, 'what is wrong is the general attitude to life'; and this is, once again, where politics is seen as the worst offender.[3]

Evans goes straight for the jugular on the politics issue by invoking the hallowed figure of Shakespeare as chief victim of left-wing *parti pris*. The Bard, more than any other writer, should not be recruited to one side or another in ideological disputes; his work must remain above the sordid manœuvrings of 'sociological criticism'. Evans quotes with complete approval F. E. Halliday's verdict that the artist should set out not to 'teach, or preach, or persuade, or ... represent'—in short, not to do anything that will impede 'his real work, the creation of a work of art'. It is to the fostering of a receptiveness commensurate with such asocial art that Evans thinks the literature tutor should 'devote himself in our present society'.[4]

Evans's and Johnson's aestheticism and self-proclaimed objectivity were the dominant emphases in literary studies inside and outside the academy until the 1960s. From its earliest days, the Leeds Department reflected and reproduced those emphases; but alongside them were the beginnings of new perspectives that would eventually help transform the study of imaginative writing. Class reports from the late 1940s and 1950s testify to the efforts of E. P. Thompson to situate literature among the competing voices of social struggle and change. They show the pioneering work of George Hauger in putting theatre studies on the academic map; and they show Walter Stein's shift from mainstream (formalist) literary history to the special sort of rigorous philosophical approach to texts that he made his own. Of the trio of 'economics, politics, morality' roundly condemned by Evans,[1] Walter's interest lay mainly in morality. To hear him trace (as I did often in the 1970s) the ethical complexities of a play by Shakespeare, Ibsen or Brecht, with his precise Germanic pronunciation and frequent—sometimes almost unbearably long—pauses for thought, was to witness a remarkable intelligence practising in the best sense what he himself called 'criticism as dialogue'. The innovatory achievements of Thompson, Hauger and Stein were augmented in the late 1960s and 1970s by the contribution of Jim Swarbrick whose years in Tanzania had left him with an enthusiasm for anglophone African writing that shifted the Department's literature teaching away from an exclusively Northern European and transatlantic focus.

We now stand (I write in early 1994) at a juncture in literary studies (I could almost as well have written 'cultural studies' to indicate how far we have come), where the waves of new theory that broke over us in the 1970s and 1980s have been more or less absorbed and the water has become calmer and clearer. A large part of the Department's teaching is now done by women and syllabuses rightly reflect their strong interest in gender issues. The growth of New Opportunities, Access and part-time degree courses, most of which include literature as a core subject, has greatly increased reliance on well-qualified, talented part-time tutors who bring to their work a fund of fresh ideas and approaches. Accreditation of nearly all of the mainstream extramural programme (just begun as I write) will offer new challenges to the skill and ingenuity (and stamina) of literature staff. In the wake of feminism, post-structuralism, neo-historicism and the rest, literary texts are now generally regarded as socially embedded, historically contingent and saturated in ideology. For the time being at least, 'prejudice' has come in from the cold: a hegemonic ideal of passive, polite 'appreciation' has given way to an active engagement with texts as sites of contestation and challenge. Long may that engagement continue!

References

1 G. L. Evans, 'An old way to pay new debts: The teaching of literature', in A. M. Parker and S. G. Raybould (eds), *University Studies for Adults* (Michael Joseph, 1972); the quotations are from pages 197 and 199.

[2] C. Johnson, 'Prejudice and the appreciation of literature', in University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, *Adult Education Papers* 1:1 (1950); quotations from pages 51, 65, 67.

[3] C. Johnson, *Adult Education Papers* 2 (1951), 44, 45.

[4] Evans, 'An old way to pay new debts' (1972), 198, 200, 201.

[5] Evans, 209.

Seeing in the Dark: (Almost) Fifty Years of Art History and the Adult Student

Paul Street

At the start of his seminal essay on the development of landscape painting in Europe, E. H. Gombrich makes a wry little academic joke: there exists, he tells us, a thesis in an American University a section of which is entitled 'Reasons for the absence of Landscape Painting in the Catacombs'.[1] As I read through early editions of the departmental annual reports, I was beginning to wonder if this chapter would have to be entitled 'Reasons for the absence of Art History in the Department of Adult Education'. As the 1940s gave way to the 1950s, history of art was indeed conspicuously absent from reports that praised the provision of classes in English literature, modern history, economics, music appreciation, philosophy, psychology, biology and much else besides. In 1950 I did see the first art classes provided by the Department: given by M. de Sausmarez they were entitled 'The Study of the Art of Painting' and 'The Visual Arts in England 1851–1951'. The latter course attracted seventy-three students to a ten-lecture class, an early indication of the ability of art classes to attract potentially large numbers of students to adult classes.[2]

In truth there is nothing surprising about the absence of art history from the earliest archaeological records of the Department: it merely reflects and confirms the very belated acceptance of art history as an academic discipline in British universities, be it in an undergraduate or extramural context. This is not the place for a detailed survey of the development of art history as a field of academic study, but the parameters need to be briefly established. The leading figures in the development of the discipline in the early years of this century were men like Heinrich Wöllflin and Alöis Riegl who emphasized rigorous formal analysis. As Rees and Borzello say: 'In the 1920s, Edgar Wind and Erwin Panofsky led a campaign against formalism, announcing the importance of the cultural and historical context of art. When the 1930s brought the German scholars in their flight from fascism, their zeal for precise knowledge and intellectual seriousness transformed art history in this country from a connoisseur's pursuit into an academic discipline.'[3]

True, but in England it remained a very restricted academic discipline located principally in two London institutions: the Courtauld Institute and the Warburg Institute, both part of the University of London, and serving essentially as 'élite training grounds' principally, one feels, for future employees of the London auction houses.[4] British traditions of connoisseurship died hard however, and it is certainly not surprising that the most famous British art historian in the post-war years was Sir Kenneth Clark, the epitome of a certain kind of English 'art expert', unscholarly but immensely intelligent and perceptive, and blessed with 'good taste' and a 'good eye', whose mission in life was to enlighten those less gifted with these enviable qualities.

In such a context the grudging acceptance of art history in the Department is not at all surprising, and it is significant that the term itself is not used for many years, 'fine art' being the preferred nomenclature. To return to the Department and its programme: de Sausmarez continued to teach, in 1952/53 attracting forty-nine students to a course in Harrogate on twentieth century painting. In 1953/54 the distinguished Marxist art historian Arnold Hauser (then teaching for the Fine Art department) contributed to the programme, but without, it would appear, leaving any significant impact behind him, certainly not on the future development of the subject in the Department.[5] In 1955/56 the Department celebrated its tenth anniversary, and the annual report, in its survey, remarks, almost in passing, that courses in art 'had not at any time been provided in Joint Committee Classes'.[6] De Sausmarez continued to teach and George McTague, who is to feature so prominently in the story of art in the Department, had begun to teach in Middlesbrough as a part-time tutor. In 1956/57 de Sausmarez not only taught at the newly-established Bradford Centre but assisted with the decoration and furnishing as he was to do a year later at Middlesbrough. Art tutors in those days clearly needed to be versatile.

By the late 1950s art classes had become a well-established (albeit still very minor) part of the programme, with classes running regularly in Leeds, Bradford and Middlesbrough. The annual report of 1958/59 addressed the issue directly:

> Another subject in which demand continues to increase, and in which classes tend to be larger than average, is Art. Successful courses have been recently held in Bradford and Middlesbrough as well as Leeds, and during the session the Ministry of Education was requested to agree to the institution of a full-time post. The Ministry was unable to agree to the proposal, but the need for such an appointment remains, and it is to be hoped that the post can be established in the near future.[7]

One is tempted to wonder whether the Ministry's 'inability to agree' was due precisely to a lack of awareness that such a discipline existed to need a lecturer in the first place. None the less the Department persisted and in August 1960 McTague was appointed as lecturer in Fine Art. The title of the appointment is significant, with its clear connoisseurial implications, and is presumably linked to the existence of a department of Fine Art elsewhere in the University. The appointment of a full-time lecturer in a sense did no more than give belated recognition to what had been apparent for some time: art classes were popular with students and needed the institutional support and possibility of development that only a full-time post could provide.

In the decade that followed, art history (although still not, of course, actually called that) settled down as a regular and essential part of the Department's provision. As full-time lecturer McTague would normally teach four twenty-four-week courses each year, and he began to gather around him a small but loyal group of part-time tutors: John Nellist (whose reminiscences form part of another chapter of this volume), makes his first appearance in 1966/67 and will teach for the Department into the 1990s. In conversation, George McTague remembers art history as being rather marginal to the Department's concerns in his day. As an artist himself he saw art through the eyes of the artist, and says that his concern as a teacher was to help the student 'understand the construction of a painting and how he [the painter] was influenced by the tools and materials he used … I tend to believe that all of our painting emanates from the Venetians. Titian was the first real painterly artist'.[8]

For the teacher of art history in those days the comparative absence of a scholarly literature of the subject was a problem and McTague relied heavily on the Penguin History of Art volumes. He also believed in introducing the student, wherever possible, to original works of art, and from this stemmed a particularly important feature of what we might call the McTague years: the overseas study-tour. These tours were usually closely integrated to a course taught the previous session, so that, for example, in 1961/62 McTague taught a class 'The Art of Northern Italy' in four centres: Bradford, Harrogate, Huddersfield and Middlesbrough with a total enrolment of ninety-eight students (seventy-four effective). In the summer a two-week study tour to northern Italy attracted twenty-one students, the vast majority coming from these classes. In other years tours to Paris, Rome and Florence, Vienna and Prague and Leningrad followed. The two week plus trip to the latter destination costing the grand sum of £72!

George McTague was promoted to a senior lectureship in 1973 and retired in 1979. His contribution to the Department was considerable: by the time of his retirement, the history of art had become established as a regular, indeed indispensable, part of the liberal studies provision, the nucleus of a group of part-time tutors had been established, and, not least, a loyal body of students had been brought together, not a few of whom continue to attend classes to this day. The extent to which history of art had become recognized in the Department as a subject needing the services of a full-time staff member, can be seen by the immediate appointment of a new lecturer (still 'in Fine Art'), despite the annual report of that year mentioning a freeze in appointments save in 'exceptional circumstances'.[9]

The new lecturer in fine art was Carol Gibson-Wood, who came from an academic History of Art background, this in itself being a significant development. Her comparatively brief tenure (she moved to a position in Canada in 1983), marks something of an interregnum in the discipline's evolving role in the Department. Perhaps feeling that the academic content of the courses needed strengthening, Gibson-Wood introduced the Extension Certificate in Art History, a venture which was never really to flourish. She also began to develop the Department's own slide library, a crucial innovation without which future expansion could not realistically have occurred. A straw in the wind for the future can be found in a day school run in 1979/80: 'Images of Women in Art' given by Deborah Cherry and attended by nineteen students.[10] Students of semiotics will note that in the 1980/81 annual report the expression 'history of art' appears for the first time in print, the report specifically mentioning that it is one of the successful areas of the Department's activity.[11]

Gibson-Wood's position was filled by a lecturer who, in the comparatively short time she was with the Department, had an impact that reached out far beyond the confines of Springfield Mount or indeed the discipline of art history itself. Shirley Moreno had begun to teach as a part-time tutor in 1979, and was appointed to replace Gibson-Wood first on a temporary and then permanent basis. Before the nature of Shirley Moreno's impact on the Department can be considered we need again to address the nature of the changes occurring in the discipline of art history itself.

The development of the history of art in Britain in the years after 1970 can only really be understood within the context of what might be called the academic fall-out from *les Événements* of 1968. New universities (Sussex, Essex, East Anglia) were founded with history of art departments staffed by a new generation of art historians many of whom were influenced by French critical theory, feminism and the 'new' Marxism which laid emphasis less on the economic 'base' than on the cultural 'superstructure'. The Ur-text of what has become known as the New Art History (an expression much disliked by many of its adherents), is generally considered to be T. J. Clark's article 'The conditions of artistic production' published in the *Times Literary Supplement* in May 1974.[12] After paying an extended tribute to the Germanic forebears of the discipline—Panofsky, Riegl, Dvorak *et al*—Clark asks why it is that the tough, dialectical questions they asked about the nature of artistic production have disappeared from the discipline. Those questions need to be asked again but in a different form, says Clark: 'it seems to me we need a work of theory and practice. We need facts—about patronage, about art dealing, about the status of the artist, the structure of artistic production—but we need to know what questions to ask of the material. We need to import a new set of concepts, and keep them in being.'[13]

Amongst these new concerns Clark cites the relation between the work of art and its ideology, and, linked to this, the nature of 'the conditions and relations of artistic production in a specific case. Why were these particular ideological materials used and not others'.[14] Clark had already published two books asking precisely these questions of avant-garde artistic production in France between 1848 and 1852.[15]

Clark's role is, however, of rather more direct and local interest. In the

1970s he was professor of Fine Art at Leeds University (holding a position previously occupied by such doyens of the 'old art history' as Quentin Bell and Lawrence Gowing), and thus in a strong position to put his ideas into practice. He gathered round him a group of like-minded young scholars (of whom Griselda Pollock has become the most notable), and in 1974 instituted an MA in the Social History of Art. Shirley Moreno was a graduate of that MA scheme and it was her particular contribution to the development of art history within the Department to introduce many of the concepts and concerns of 'the new art history' to the classes that she and a new generation of part-time tutors taught. Feminism's radical critique of existing art-historical practices and methodologies particularly informed Moreno's approach. The time that she had to 're-invent' art history in the Department was cut tragically short by an illness that was to prove fatal. The best tribute that can be paid to her unique contribution (and it is a contribution that goes way beyond the limited confines of the present study),[16] is to quote from Griselda Pollock's obituary published in the *University of Leeds Review*:

> Shirley Moreno died of cancer aged 37 on 6 February 1987. A truly outstanding teacher, Shirley had made her subject, art history, a major draw wherever she taught, in the WEA, and since 1982, as Lecturer in Art History in the Department of Adult Continuing Education. Indeed, my first introduction to Shirley, shortly after arriving in Leeds, was of an already legendary figure whose classrooms overflowed as she lectured on Renaissance art with a wit and wisdom which made the past intelligible to all ranges of educational experience. She was widely admired by her colleagues for energetic advancement of her subject area … attracting a corpus of highly gifted and innovative tutors, organising dayschools on unusual and fascinating aspects of art history, and cultural studies, bringing to this audience the innovations and debates on feminist and social histories of art …[17]

The title of just one of these day schools: 'Sexual Signification and the Sliding Signifier' (which attracted thirty-five students), with its conflation of feminism and semiotics, gives some idea of the sense of intellectual excitement that permeated the teaching of art history in this era. It must be said, however, that not all tutors had Shirley's charismatic gifts, and courses by other young MA and PhD students on similar themes failed to recruit.

Shirley Moreno was, and remains, irreplaceable, but the provision of art history classes had to continue. The author of the present contribution became lecturer in Art History, first on a part-time and then full-time basis. The remainder of the story can be quickly told: art history continues to flourish within the Department, a team of splendid part-time tutors (bringing many differing perspectives to the discipline) have their loyal and growing followings and art history is now securely situated within the Humanities part-time degree scheme. Students can obtain a BA degree in History of Art (part-time), taught jointly by the Department of Adult Continuing Education and the Department of Fine Art, and a Certificate in Art Historical Studies will be available from September 1994.

Much has changed but it is surely true that, in its essentials, the learning experience for students studying art history at an adult class, is much the same now as it ever was. It is pleasing, in the mind's eye, to imagine a darkened room on a cold winter's evening, the whirr of a slide projector throwing its image of painting or building on to the screen, whilst tutor and students discuss, analyse, debate and explore the image. As Clark foretold, maybe the questions that are being asked about the image will have changed, the nature of the critical engagement will have altered over time, but the sense of shared enthusiasm and excitement at that confrontation in a darkened room is the same now as it ever was. This chapter is being written at a time of great change, and some uncertainty, but as long as that imaginary scenario is annually made real in classrooms from Middlesbrough to Wakefield, we have nothing to fear for the future.

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16 Griselda Pollock in her obituary (see Note 17 below) says that 'Shirley Moreno is to be remembered and honoured for her involvement with the emergence and development of the women's movement'. She contributed to the early development of the Department's New Opportunities for Women courses and much else besides.

17 Griselda Pollock, obituary notice in *University of Leeds Review* 30 (1987/88), 273–274.

Archaeology at Leeds from 1960 to 1990

Alan Aberg and Jennifer Price

The development of archaeology at Leeds was initiated by Raybould, and exemplified the view of the period 'that the distinctive contribution to adult education' of universities 'was in virtue of their specialised knowledge, their engagement in original research … and their traditional concern for the humane studies'.[1] The decade between 1960 and 1970 saw a phenomenal expansion of archaeology at Leeds. At one time, there were five lecturers in archaeology in the Department. Courses taught in the subject grew from six in 1961/62 to thirty-eight five years later. Under Raybould's leadership the

University made a distinctive and important contribution to Yorkshire archaeology.

The broadening of the subject range in the Department at this period recognized the growing public interest in archaeology and the demand for education in a little-known subject taught in only a handful of internal university departments. Public awareness and interest had been heightened in the post-war period, both by press coverage of a series of spectacular discoveries such as the Temple of Mithras in the City of London, and by a very popular series of television programmes that capitalized on the visual attraction of objects in museums and monuments in the countryside. Archaeology came to be seen as an accessible subject, providing evidence for past human activities in local environments, rather than as a remote discipline for those who could afford to visit and study the remains of classical and near-eastern civilizations. In particular, archaeology provided opportunities to contribute to original research, and gave training in discovery and analysis of evidence by field-work. The combination of traditional liberal studies with scientific investigation provided an intellectual stimulus of wide appeal in an increasingly prosperous Britain, and the Leeds Department took up the challenge. Its report for 1963/64 recorded a 'most impressive programme' with twelve tutorial classes and two hundred students, residential courses at Winchester and Wharram Percy, and research at six excavations throughout the country, many of which required weekend and holiday commitments from students in addition to evening classes.[5]

The context in which archaeology developed at Leeds was based on two arms of university adult education, extension and joint committee, each with its own academic board. All staff teaching extramural courses were attached to one or the other. Extension lecturers were limited to the conurbations of West Yorkshire and Middlesbrough, while joint committee staff provided the resource for WEA branches within the Department's extramural area. Joint committee provision was the only University extramural education in the rural market towns. This system worked well in principle, since identified resources existed to meet the two separate administrations, but it also had its awkward corners.

This situation persisted *de facto* long after the reorganization of the department from 1969, when extension and joint committee lecturers merged into a Liberal Studies division. A distinctive aspect of Leeds's extramural provision was the centralized administration for class organization. Lecturers did not have the role of organizing tutors for their subjects, as was common practice in other university extramural departments. In theory, this freed staff to concentrate on teaching and research, but it was not really appropriate in archaeology because of the nature of the subject. Successful archaeological training frequently depended on the organization of work in the field rather than in the classroom so archaeology tutors could not escape an organizing role, although no specific clerical or administrative support was available for this work.

Leeds was the only university in Yorkshire to appoint full-time archaeologists to extramural lectureships. Hull and Sheffield followed different paths using part-time lecturers while the new universities at Bradford and York concentrated their resources in internal archaeology provision in the early stages of their development. The extent of the commitment to extramural archaeology in Leeds was remarkable, and unparalleled in Britain.

The first lecturer was Vincent Bellamy, who in the late 1950s gradually transferred his research and teaching interests from biology to archaeology to meet the need for courses at WEA branches. In 1962 he was joined by Alan Aberg and Philip Mayes, who were appointed as extension lecturers, and based at Middlesbrough and Leeds respectively. All three followed the traditional teaching pattern of three-year tutorial classes, and the new appointments were followed by an immediate expansion of courses and locations where archaeology could be provided.

The three members of staff shared a common interest in medieval archaeology which was reflected in their research and training projects, as in the residential training course arranged at Wharram Percy. Excavations at the deserted medieval village site had been in progress for several years before the extramural department ran a training course there in 1962, under the direction of Colin Platt from the Department of History at Leeds. This was expanded in subsequent years with introductory and advanced courses run by Alan Aberg, Philip Mayes and guest lecturers. A series of residential tours in Britain and abroad was also developed at this time, setting a pattern of provision that still continues.

The programme reflected that established in other adult education departments in the mid 1960s, and shared the experience noted nationally that 'archaeology in general ... continues to be a subject in which it is difficult to find enough tutors'.[3] When Philip Mayes was seconded to Jamaica for two years in 1967, he was replaced by Jean le Patourel, and then Steven Bartle was transferred from Services Education to archaeological teaching.

From the mid 1970s, the structure of extramural archaeology teaching changed at Leeds, owing to both internal and external factors. Firstly, there was a reduction of staffing, partly brought about through natural wastage but mostly because of policy decisions made within the Department to promote other subjects at the expense of archaeology. When Mayes (1974), Bellamy (1978), le Patourel (1980) and Bartle (1989) resigned or retired, they were not replaced. The Middlesbrough post survived longer. Aberg left in 1976, and was replaced by John Barrett (1976–79), and then by Jennifer Price (1980–90). In due course, the holder of this post assumed overall responsibility for most of the archaeology provision within the Leeds extramural area, with the support of a temporary, half-time lecturer (Colleen Batey, 1984–88; Ailsa Mainman, 1988–89). Following Jennifer Price's departure to the University of Durham in 1990, Roger Martlew was appointed.

Secondly, a profound change in the structure of British archaeology occurred in this period. There was an explosion of provision of university degrees in archaeology. In Yorkshire in the late 1960s and 1970s, the universities at Sheffield, Bradford, Leeds and York established internal archaeology departments and undergraduate degrees. Archaeology units were created in the early 1970s; the York Archaeological Trust began in 1972, and units working within the local authorities were based at Beverley, Northallerton, Sheffield and Wakefield. In time, the National Parks also employed archaeological field officers. The increase in academic and professional staff in Yorkshire, as elsewhere in Britain, has been enormous; it is difficult to calculate the exact number of archaeologists employed in the region in the 1960s, but it was probably fewer than twenty, compared with at least two hundred in the 1990s.

University extramural archaeologists played a significant role in developing professional field archaeology in the early 1970s, and it was at first thought that extramural archaeology could provide a 'vital link in keeping together the increasing professionalism of the full-time specialist on the one hand and the growing number of knowledgeable and often dedicated part-timers on the other'.[4] In the longer term, however, the rise of professionalism in the 1970s and 1980s had a profound effect on the role of part-time extramural students and other interested amateurs in practical field-work, especially excavation. During this time, they were increasingly replaced by teams of professional excavators who were highly trained and well-equipped and worked in field programmes throughout the year. It is noteworthy that many successful research and training excavations were organized in the Leeds Department in the 1960s and 1970s, including Eston Nab, Kilton, Pontefract, Sandal and Skipton, whereas virtually none was carried out between 1980 and 1990. Adult student demand for training in archaeological practice remained strong, and more emphasis was given to courses involving non-destructive field observation and recording, as at Scarth Wood Moor and in the vicinity of Aldborough. Practical courses and workshops on artefact studies were also introduced.

The methods and patterns of university extramural non-vocational archaeology provision changed over time. By the early 1980s, although the three-year tutorial class was still widely upheld as a model, it was becoming obsolescent and impracticable, and was replaced by courses with various formats, some of shorter duration, some for advanced students and some in collaboration with other agencies. These initiatives provided more flexibility both in geographical provision and in the topics taught. Day schools and weekend courses with guest lecturers were always a feature of extramural archaeology teaching. They were generally held in Bradford, Leeds or Middlesbrough, and were often arranged in association with organizations such as the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, the Council for British Archaeology, the York Archaeological Trust or the West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit. These events provided a forum for exploring new and interesting topics in detail, and some led to publications.[5]

In the 1970s, a commitment to teaching certificated extramural courses in archaeology developed nationwide, in accordance with the recommendations of the Russell Report.[6] These courses were intended to provide relevant training and a qualification for people wishing to take up careers in rescue archaeology. Some university adult education departments already offered extension certificates in archaeology, and London in particular had a long history of teaching a diploma in archaeology based on four years of study. In the late 1970s, the Council for British Archaeology made strenuous efforts to establish a diploma to be taught in university extramural departments, but this had only limited success.

A two-year certificate course was taught in Leeds in the late 1970s, with the help of colleagues in the Department of Archaeology. The reduction in staffing after the resignation of John Barrett and retirement of Jean le Patourel prevented the course from being repeated, although subsequent attempts were made to collaborate with the Department of Archaeology and with the neighbouring extramural department at Durham. Some time later, a two-year certificate in Archaeological Heritage Management was taught in Leeds, and in 1989 a modular Diploma in British Archaeology was set up by the University of Leeds in collaboration with the Open University. The Diploma, which was equivalent to two level-two Open University credits, was taught in both Leeds and Middlesbrough. By this time the Department of Archaeology at Leeds had been closed, so the certificate and diploma courses relied heavily on the expertise of a wide range of archaeologists employed elsewhere in the region.

To sum up, the archaeology provision in the Department was very generously resourced for about fifteen years, but under-resourcing thereafter led to difficulties in meeting the needs of students and inhibited the exploration of new initiatives, particularly in the area of award-bearing courses. The subject has always been attractive to students, many of whom have made their own significant contributions to archaeological knowledge, several joining the ranks of the professionals and also contributing to adult education courses in the subject.

The staff of the Department were active in the archaeology of the region and beyond for nearly forty years, as part of 'a small band of academic missionaries' sharing in the creation of a momentum that helped transform archaeology in Britain. They participated in the academic life of Leeds University and in the wider community through research, publication, service on committees, involvement in national and local organizations, consultation with local authorities, planners, museums and units, and in many other ways. In the 1960s and 1970s they were instrumental in promoting many aspects of medieval studies, such as settlement studies, moated manors, boundaries and research in ceramic production techniques. In the late 1970s they were at the forefront of Bronze Age studies, and in the 1980s they created a centre for archaeological glass and other artefact studies, and for Saxon and Viking studies. We wish the subject well in the university adult education developments of the 1990s and beyond.

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Subject Provision in the Sciences

Miriam Zukas, Rob Chapman and Malcolm Chase

Well before the establishment of the University (and the Department), the University's precursor in the nineteenth century, the Yorkshire College, had already been providing scientific subjects for adults through a programme of extension classes for artisans. The tradition of science teaching for those who needed some knowledge of science in their work was to continue, if somewhat haphazardly, once the new Department had been established. It was the mainstay of what later became known as the special courses (and now continuing professional education) programme and it was also an important element in the provision for the Services until the Services Education Committee's demise in 1976.

For those wishing to develop their professional expertise by drawing on the latest research in the University, the Department provided a wide range of lectures, summer schools and courses, such as a course in 1949 for senior dyers and colourists arranged in co-operation with the Society of Dyers and Colourists. These arrangements flourished, particularly after the establishment in 1969 of the Special Courses Division which was responsible for working with internal departments wishing to develop their continuing education work. And for those in the Services pursuing a liberal education, mathematics, physics and chemistry were essential.

Perhaps surprisingly for some, science was always part of the liberal adult education (LAE) programme. Because science covers such a wide range of subjects which demand different levels of prerequisite knowledge, it has always been difficult to teach certain disciplines, such as the physical sciences, to adult students who might have had little previous background. Earth, biological and behavioural sciences have always been more successful and, presumably, easier to teach because they draw more directly from observation and experience and are more readily teachable without a laboratory in the further reaches of the extramural area. So those complaining that the LAE programme did not include science tended to ignore biology, geology and psychology or talk of them as 'soft' sciences.

Of course, some university continuing educators also considered science courses to be inappropriate for liberal adult education programmes. The courses were either too specialized and therefore less liberal than the humanities and social studies, or they were too generalist and failed to meet 'university standards'. They required equipment and laboratory facilities and, it was argued by some, encouraged a distasteful vocationalism among students. Although a few Departments made academic appointments in the sciences, they faced considerable difficulties in recruiting viable classes, especially in the physical sciences: 'When all our explanations have been made, we still do not understand why [these subjects] have proved so unappealing to our public. Is there a research project here for some sociologist with a scientific bent? Or is the whole problem so vague and so amorphous that we must continue to stumble forward blindly, hoping that sheer persistence will one day bring us to the edge of the wood?'[1]

Vincent Bellamy,[2] a botanist, was appointed to one of the Department's first teaching posts and his courses in biology, together with several courses in geology, ensured the presence of science within the curriculum.[3] Even then, some interesting experiments took place in trying to teach science to adults at a level appropriate to a university. For example, a week-long marine biology school took place in 1948 at the University's Marine Biology station at Robin Hood's Bay and, by 1949, students who had completed the three-year tutorial classes in botany or biology and were considered 'capable of more advanced study than would have been possible in the ordinary Tutorial classes'[4] participated in an experiment which allowed them to carry out individual project work (an experiment that was repeated some forty-five years later in the Gold and Silver Group).

In the late 1950s, some individuals within the Department believed that a bright future existed for the sciences in a revivified tradition of extension education,[5] but this optimism was never translated into staff appointments, nor into large-scale curriculum development. This was unfortunate since it had been demonstrated repeatedly by other Responsible Bodies that the only way to introduce a successful programme, particularly in the physical sciences, was to appoint a full-time subject specialist who could develop a way of teaching science that was appropriate to adults and who could make links with amateur groups in subjects related to the scientific discipline.

The appointment of K. L. Hunt in 1959 was brought about as 'the result of a recommendation by the Extension Lectures Committee ... that one of the posts on the Committee's establishment be used to further the extra-mural teaching of science'.[6] Hunt had some impact on the programme, running courses in statistics, mathematics and various aspects of physics but was not replaced on his departure in 1962.[7]

The pattern of continuing provision in the biological and earth sciences continued through the 1960s and 1970s, with the odd foray into 'science and society' courses such as 'The Universe, Life and Matter' (1962). However, given the absence of a full-time scientist on the staff, the science provision (as a proportion of the overall class programme of one year's duration or more) never exceeded seven per cent.[8]

The Barratt Report of 1981 was critical that 'courses are heavily concentrated in humanities and social studies and are therefore unrepresentative of the University', and it called in particular for the development of courses in science and applied science.[9] In response, a small group with representatives from the Department and the University discussed the practicalities of developing the curriculum. They identified three different clusters of motivation for taking science courses: those students taking science for semi-vocational purposes (such as 'new' technology as it was called then), those with a related 'hobby' (such as amateur geologists and biologists) and those taking science for personal development (those interested in psychology or health-related science). They recommended that a full-time appointment be made but did not specify the subject area since they considered the generic approach of the appointee to teaching science to be more important than the actual discipline. Thus, a full-time lecturer in science, Jonathan Adams, was appointed in 1983.

This appointment marked both a quantitative and qualitative change in the Department's programme. The number of science courses increased and the programme included the mainstays of biology (especially ecology and field biology) and geology with the addition a little later of astronomy. Many experimental ventures were tried in topics as wide-ranging as the physiology of nutrition and women's courses on science.[10] Some of the biology courses were strongly field-based, including the Bird Study classes which often led to group and individual projects of sufficient scope to support original research. The astronomy courses, which represented the physical sciences, demonstrated once more that topics which appeared to have some direct relevance to people's lives and their experiences (such as the observation of the heavens) could be used to develop scientific understanding. Thus, Bird Study classes included detailed work on behaviour, ecology and evolution and the focus on research results provided excellent opportunities for the development of analytical skills and for greater understanding of the interpretation (and critical reinterpretation) of data presented in different tabular and graphical formats.

Simultaneously, the Department was expanding its teaching about and with computers. Although the first course, 'Computers and their applications' ran in 1968, it was only some fifteen years later that courses on microcomputers in education were run. It later joined forces with technology training centres and colleges to mount liberal adult education courses in information technology. The momentum behind the courses derived mainly from the burgeoning interest in women's scientific education but a special action-research project, 'Computing and Technology for Women',[11] funded by the DES through its Innovative Projects Scheme, ensured the development of this new area. The second stage of the project extended the target audience to elderly people, physically-challenged individuals and speakers of English as a second language. Classes were community-based, and organized in collaboration with other appropriate agencies. This also had the advantage of overcoming the ubiquitous problem facing science courses: obtaining adequate equipment for teaching purposes. The Department finally established its own very small student-use computer cluster in 1994!

When the lecturer in science was seconded to another post, the Department appointed a replacement lecturer in science who was in fact a computing specialist (Steve Webb). His departure after a year led to the appointment of a minerals engineer, Rob Chapman, as the full-time science specialist. Although there appeared to be a role for a physical-sciences specialist through another action research project,[12] it was unclear how an extractive metallurgist could deliver his discipline in the context of liberal adult education. This was partly a matter of the pre-requisite knowledge for a subject such as mineral engineering which draws on a variety of disciplines including earth sciences, applied chemistry, pure sciences and process engineering. Because of the incremental knowledge of the physical sciences and the requirement for fairly advanced mathematical skills, it was difficult to see how best to teach the subject in a manner that would be appropriate to a university. Tutors were faced with this problem because they were not used to teaching students with little formal scientific training but a lot of experiential knowledge.

The earlier analysis helped to define a new target audience for science courses. It was recognized that some adults have an intense interest in very narrow subject areas and this was used to the Department's advantage to design multi-disciplinary courses for specialized audiences. The first course of this type was the 'Science of Home Brewing' which was successfully offered at the Middlesbrough Centre in 1992. Although the motivation of the students was immediately apparent (and related to the second of the three categories identified above), the level of chemistry needed to define the processes of brewing is advanced. Thus, the model of teaching science by stealth evolved so that the tutor was able to cover the theoretical nature of matter by relating it direct to the subject of brewing. In this way, it was possible to move in four lectures from that basic material to the fourteen stages involved in alcoholic fermentation! Following the success of this format, similar courses linking very specific interests to the science behind those concerns (such as the production of liqueurs, perfumes, fireworks and natural dyestuffs) have been developed.

If some areas of applied science presented relatively little difficulty in defining a potential audience, the same was not true of extractive metallurgy. It seemed unlikely that anyone would want to spend his or her evenings crushing rocks and recovering metals from their ores, irrespective of the amount of analytical chemistry required to evaluate the processes. An inspired, if somewhat dishonest, piece of advertising implied that gold could be recovered from the gravels of a local stream. This was seized upon by a group who were fascinated with minerals and old mines and the ensuing evening class, 'Gold and Silver', which is currently in its fifth year, emerged. Once more, a science-based liberal adult education course was able to produce material of research quality and indeed the group published reports of its work in a refereed journal.[13] Again, it was apparent that, in order to establish such high quality work by students, it was essential to have a member of full-time staff who was a specialist in the field.

In parallel with these curriculum developments, a Science Access programme emerged from the action research project on accelerated access for people working in science-based industries. Although the project focused on technicians,[14] it soon became apparent that the main demand for science access provision lay outside the original target group, and the design of the programme was changed to incorporate a foundation course for students wishing to take science degrees. The programme ran for the last time in 1995.

With the onset of the accreditation of LAE, the science programme faces new challenges. How is it possible to use the lessons of the last fifty years to teach science to adult students who might not already have the building blocks required? How can the very detailed and specific experiential knowledge of passionate individuals be used as the foundation for developing scientific literacy? What directions should the relatively new disciplinary fields of computer science and information technology follow? And how best do we resist the temptation to discount what adults already know and insist that they follow traditional routes into science?

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Psychology Teaching in the Department

Miriam Zukas

> What is psychology? Whatever the experts might say, there is no doubt about the answer most adult students would give. They expect psychology to solve for them their personal problems of adjustment or to explain what they consider to be inexplicable behaviour on the part of those with whom they are compelled to associate—mainly children, parents, spouses and their immediate superiors in their place of employment.[1]

Introduction

Psychology's identity as a tool to explain inexplicable behaviour has ensured its ubiquity across the Department's first fifty years. It has existed as an extramural subject (in both extension and tutorial programmes) and as an important contributor to adult education and applied social studies teaching during the 1970s and early 1980s. Its continuing presence in the Department is guaranteed because students will always struggle to understand and predict the behaviour of themselves and others. However, motives for attending psychology classes may have changed because the popular view of psychology is no longer so naïve (few people would expect it to solve personal problems, although they usually expect psychology to offer some helpful insights). In its later incarnations, psychology teaching has also included counselling, a subject which proved to be unstoppable in the 1980s.

Staffing[2]

From the beginning, the Department has had full-time psychology lecturers on its staff. Charles (Charlie) Johnson, appointed in 1945, actually predated the Department, and stayed until his retirement in 1966; in 1948 he was joined by John McLeish, who in turn remained until 1962; Ted Earle, based in Middlesbrough, succeeded McLeish and took early retirement in 1982; Pam Calder, appointed in 1966, stayed only a short time, but Stuart Marriott, appointed in 1965, has remained in the University—with a three-year break between 1969 and 1972 at Edinburgh—to the present day (although he has long since changed his focus of interest to adult education research *per se*); Reg Marks was appointed in 1969, retiring in 1980; and I was appointed in 1980; numerous other lecturers with a disciplinary background in psychology have also worked full-time in the Department, mainly in the Applied Social Studies Division: these have included Les Laycock, Mark Beeson and Peter Watson.[3]

The series of appointments indicates how the Department's psychologists were expected to be generalists; they were supposed to be able to apply their discipline over a range of professional areas, from criminology to child care, and to be able to work within the liberal tradition with adult students who had professional and personal motives for studying the subject. Although psychology had little formal recognition as one of the main teaching disciplines, the presence of so many psychologists on the staff and the immediate popularity and apparent applicability of the subject for adult students ensured its place as one of the main disciplines across the Department's provision. Despite the shortage of full-time support, it continues to maintain its position as a core subject in the 1990s, and is likely to succeed as one of the most popular subjects within the accreditation framework.

Psychology teaching on the extramural programme

Psychology has been taught as a separate subject in the Leeds extramural context since 1945. However, it was also an important constituent of the Department's Extension Certificate programmes in criminology (particularly in the 1950s) and social studies (during the 1970s and 1980s), and has also more recently been integrated into access-type programmes such as New Opportunities. This section examines the curriculum and student issues within the traditional extramural programme, while the next considers psychology's place within broader programmes.

As the opening quotation shows, students have always been more concerned with the applications of psychology to their lives than with more theoretical issues. The tension between theory and application, still present today, recurred again and again in the early class reports of psychology tutors. People working within the discipline were making strenuous efforts to demonstrate its scientific credibility and objectivity, while its popular image remained one of introspection and subjectivity (no doubt enhanced by the increasing popularity of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy), associated with the study of both the supernatural and religion. Misunderstandings about the content of the discipline abounded so that one tutor was clearly relieved when 'Discussions of occult phenomena this year were reduced to negligible proportions'.[4] He also reported on the student who 'at the first meeting said that she had lost her husband and had therefore decided to take a course in psychology "because she would need to find God"'.[5]

Students then and now look to psychology for solutions to their problems, and for the development of their personal skills. Students' frustrations with the lack of straightforward answers from the science of psychology sometimes lead to their premature departure: 'The reason for the retirement of these students would appear to be that the indecision of psychologists (as personified by the tutor) was alien to their wishes and preconceptions of what psychology is and can do',[6] while those looking for personal advancement also leave: 'We had shed those who had evidently joined with the spurious and all-too-exalted hopes that a course in psychology would make of them super men and women!'[7]

Psychology tutors have always been wary of attracting students whose motivation arises from their own mental health problems. One tutor wrote frankly about 'the person whose mind, partly uncovered, revealed many complexes and about whom we shuddered to think if the lid were entirely taken off (and yet who, as far as normal consciousness went, was human and gentlemanly)'. He also commented, 'The primary motivation for those who wish to study psychology was, and still is, concern with practical matters, and the early understandings that psychology should begin with real-life concerns and move gradually to more theoretical issues remains a feature of the Department's teaching of psychology as of other subjects.'[8]

With the growth of the discipline, the aim of students' being able to see psychology as a whole has rather diminished and our aim now is generally to provide students with a clear grasp of the scope of the discipline and its methods, rather than the overall content.

One of the least popular topics over the last fifty years has been experimentation and statistical analysis. Despite the best efforts of the tutors to engage students in such study, heavily scientific courses failed to hold student interest. Such stringent approaches to psychology were abandoned from the 1950s onwards in favour of what Charlie Johnson referred to as 'oblique teaching',[9] that is, introducing unpopular subject matter bit by bit in the context of more attractive and accessible topics.

Students were rather more willing to engage in observation and experimentation if the results were immediately applicable to themselves. An early tutor had no qualms about testing student intelligence, a practice avoided for obvious ethical reasons in later years. 'The actual scores in the intelligence tests, which formed part of the year's work, showed that the class as a whole possessed an exceptionally high quotient, equal, in fact, to that attained by Goering, Schacht and Doenitz.'[10] More recent workshops on stress management and the Myers-Briggs Type Inventory reflect this continuing desire for self-exploration. Other tutors persuaded students to use their own experiences to study claims by Freud: 'Class members kept a record of slips and omissions, memory lapses and faulty actions which they made themselves ... A limited number of experiments, for example on types, were done.'[11]

While the subject matter is somewhat different, students today continue to use their own experiences and observations to participate in class experiments and studies, which might range from studies of supermarket behaviour to observations of children's playgrounds. The shift in subject matter and experimental methodologies reflects the changing nature of psychology and its expression through the psychology curriculum.

The curriculum

The psychology curriculum over the last fifty years has been influenced by four main factors. First of all, as noted above, the discipline has undergone changes which have been reflected in the Department's offerings. Secondly, and inevitably, tutors' preferences and specialisms influence what they offer to teach. But the third main influence, student wishes (later discussed in terms of student 'need'),[12] also had and still have a direct impact on the courses on offer. Finally, the changing mission of the Department also determined what could and should be taught in the psychology programme.

Changes in the discipline

The decreasing popularity of Freud, Adler and Jung as an essential part of any psychology course in the first fifteen years of the Department's life followed the rejection by mainstream British psychology of psychoanalysis in favour of behaviourism and other scientific theories. While this rejection was not wholesale, it created certain tensions between tutors. In one course that had to be split into two because it had recruited forty-eight students, one tutor complained that 'the lay image of Psychology which identified the subject primarily with Freud, psychopathology and depth psychology (with intelligence testing and "11 plus" as a later accretion) apparently still persists ... I feel that one important aim of extramural studies should be to correct lay notions of what psychologists are trying to do.'[13] The tutor responsible for the other half of the class taught '(i) exposition and critical examination of the theories of Freud, Jung and Alder; (ii) study of the child; (iii) intelligence: what is it and how is it measured?'[14] thus confirming this 'lay' misunderstanding through his teaching.

In the 1950s, the growth in social psychology and the widespread availability of the new Pelican textbooks on psychology provided tutors with the opportunity to encourage and support more widespread reading by their students. For example, a course on industrial psychology was based on J. A. C. Brown's newly published *The Social Psychology of Industry*, a standard textbook for many years afterwards.

As the discipline itself grew to encompass applied subjects such as mental health and human relations, their inclusion in the programme ensured that courses during the 1970s attracted many fresh students. The two growth areas in the 1980s were counselling skills and health psychology, so that the extramural programme reflected a changing (although truncated) undergraduate curriculum.

Tutor preference and student choice

Initially, psychology appeared to be a catch-all title for a topic that ran the gamut from religion to philosophy, twisting and turning as student and tutor fancied. One introductory course dealt with 'the instincts and emotions; with heredity and environment; with the child at home and at school; with the causes of juvenile delinquency; and with the study of man in relation to his social environment. This was perhaps too much for a one year course . . .'[15]

While tutors asserted their right to maintain some semblance of control over the curriculum so that it reflected what they believed should be included in a proper grounding in psychology, this resulted in dissatisfied class members. One tutor reported: 'The man who had lost interest was quite frank. For the first two years the emphasis had been on man as an individual; but the subject of the final year was social psychology, where the emphasis was rather on society and psycho-sociological problems. All this, he said, bored him.'[16]

The movement away from generic psychology courses towards specialist areas of interest (such as developmental psychology, social psychology, health and illness, verbal and non-verbal communication and the psychology of women) reflects both a change in the tutors themselves and in the demands of students. Tutors have always dictated the boundaries of courses for students through the syllabus, with some attempt to retain flexibility within this fixed structure, but little desire to teach a wide range of topics without some depth. Generic psychology courses pose particular problems for the tutor wishing to please students and to remain within the parameters of academic psychology and his or her own knowledge and expertise, because, within a generic course, the possible directions are infinite. Hence, the need to specialize arose when the Department began to include sessional and preparatory courses in the programme.

By the mid 1980s, with the demise of the three-year course held in the evening (mostly in the form of the Social Studies Certificate), the diversity of psychology specialisms and the multiplicity of student motives for taking psychology were taken account of in devising a new programme of psychology units. The course organizers recognized that evening students were increasingly looking for courses in psychology that would support them for their work, voluntary work or at home. Using this primary motivation to attract students to the discipline (and a financial inducement for signing up for more than one course), students were encouraged to take two or more twelve-week units before embarking on a longer programme of study, while tutors were encouraged to teach more specialist courses. This pattern of delivery continued in Leeds in the evening until 1994. During that period, even the traditional three-year course, which continued to be taught in the daytime in both Bradford and Leeds, became much more specialized. Courses for example on 'Friends, Families and Relationships' and 'The Healthy Mind', which focused on a narrow band of the curriculum, enabled teacher and students to concentrate their efforts on those parts of psychology which particularly interested them.

Psychology and social purpose education

This new route for the psychology programme reflected a less intensive demarcation between liberal adult education and other adult education provision, in a time of diminishing resources. However, an earlier tension between psychology's concern with the individual and a broader (and perhaps more overtly political) perspective on society elsewhere in the

Department remained. In the 1950s, a tutor, taking a course on psychology and industry, believed that 'A much more direct approach to, or attack on, the stereotyped thinking about social classes, political issues and social questions generally may be necessary, if the psychology class has to be imbued with 'social purpose.'[17]

While the terms of the debate might have changed so that, by the 1980s, it was no longer couched in terms of 'social purpose', psychology's absence from the industrial studies programme over the thirty-five years of its existence, and later from the Pioneer Work programme, should be noted. Whether or not this was deliberate, it is understandable that a discipline which mostly ignored the roles of class, gender and race in the determination of individual action should be seen as less relevant than the other social sciences for those trying to understand social power and purpose.

Psychology integrated with other subjects

Despite its absence from areas of work now included in community and industrial studies, psychology provided one of the foundation disciplines for all the multi-disciplinary certificate programmes based in the centres from the 1950s, and later for New Opportunities work. When the Criminology certificate was established in 1953, psychology was, and continued to be, an important part of the curriculum. Although it was, at first, taught separately from criminal law and sociology, it was later integrated into the three-year programme which continued until 1988.

Similarly, psychology played a major role in the successful Social Studies Certificate programme from 1971 to 1983, both as a foundation discipline and with the options structure.[18] The successful New Opportunities programme, which is discussed in Chapters 6 and 20, was launched in Bradford and was intended for women who were thinking of further education, new employment or a general change of direction. The very first course offered students a choice of two out of four subjects (psychology, social administration, women and society, and literature). Throughout the changing New Opportunities programme, which is still part of departmental provision in 1994, psychology has continued to be one of the most popular subjects.

Psychology's absence from the other important multi-disciplinary programme of the 1980s and early 1990s, Access, should be analysed because the subject seems such an obvious choice for adult students. The first, and perhaps most important, reason for its exclusion lay in this very popularity. University departments of psychology which, after all, would have been the recipients of applications from Access students, were inundated with applications from well-qualified traditional students. Furthermore, many psychology departments preferred students who had evidence of mathematical skills. This meant that any Access course would have to include some element of statistics to demonstrate that students could cope with that part of the degree, and this was beyond the scope of the one-day-a-week programmes. Finally, given the departmental decision to use full-time staff to teach the courses as far as possible, at least in the early years of the Access programme, one half-time psychologist with other responsibilities could make little impact.

Counselling in the 1980s

Two new growth subjects appeared in the 1980s which created problems for those concerned with the provision of liberal adult education. Both counselling and information technology, which were developed in Leeds, could be interpreted as being too 'applied' for such a programme. Counselling's meteoric rise, in particular, deserves a mention.

Although counselling (particularly Rogerian counselling) had existed since the 1960s, it only became popular as a subject for adult education in the early 1980s. Three factors might account for its remarkable rise. Firstly, with the increasing pressure on the health services brought about by the Thatcherite government and the general dissatisfaction with psychotropic drugs, unhappy people were looking much more to voluntary and private agencies to help them deal with their problems. Furthermore, the political message of the individual's responsibility for his or her own life encouraged people to explain unhappiness in terms of their own shortcomings and problems, rather than those of society, and thus to seek private help. Finally, many people in voluntary and paid employment began to recognize their need to demonstrate their skills at work, and counselling courses offered individuals the chance to name what they were doing as a set of skills.

The first 'introduction to counselling skills' appeared in 1985 in the psychology unit programme mentioned earlier. By 1988, a new certificate programme aimed at individuals using counselling skills at work or in a voluntary capacity, proved to be the 1980s equivalent of the Social Studies

Certificate. Despite the rapid expansion of local education and further education college courses in counselling, the certificate was a winner in terms of recruitment and status. By the end of the programme in 1994 (brought about by the switch to a new accredited certificate in counselling), 262 students had earned the certificate, some twenty per cent more than completed the social studies certificate during its twelve year reign.

The future

Because of their personal and vocational appeal, psychology and counselling still remain one of the most hopeful areas for development through accreditation. The demand for accreditation has always existed—as demonstrated by the certificate programmes. The opportunities for students who obtain credits in Psychology are, if anything, broader then those for students studying other subjects. It seems likely that the students will be able to use their experience on and knowledge from such courses to demonstrate competence in NVQs and GNVQs. Furthermore, funding for psychology as an undergraduate subjects remains buoyant, as long as the subject is taught as a science. The big challenge for psychology teaching within the Department is to provide a responsive but rigorous programme of courses and certificates for those wishing to apply its findings to their working or personal relationships.

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A Dazed Decade of Social Studies 1972–1982

Mark Beeson

Macmillan noticed a wind of change, people were shot by police at Sharpeville and Kent State, cobbles flew in Paris and gates went up at LSE. In the Department, a window flapped, letting in a draught which grew to a breeze, became a gale and threatened a storm. Two or three staff were thrust or sucked into the vortex to seize the moment. The coat that the Department trailed through its territory attracted an immanent curiosity about social issues which was fanned by wider events. With inspired anticipation, the slight resources in the relevant disciplines in the Department were mustered and the Social Studies Certificate scheme was conceived, baptized and presented. Recruitment bloomed and the Department unfurled its tentacles to draw in tutors from internal departments and further afield.

In the space of what seemed to some an alarmingly short time, the balance of the Department's provision in the three centres swung detectably from the accustomed mixture towards an emphasis not only on the study of society but also towards certificate work. Enoch Powell was not alone in his concern that traditional ideas were in danger of being swamped. Along with this swing in subject, the scheme endorsed a domestic version of modularization, with students involved with a succession of tutors over the three years of the course and with the exercise of options in the final stages.

Along with these developments, carefully monitored and operated by the Board of Extra-Mural Studies and our colleagues in internal departments, went a revivification of the machinery of student consultation and participation which had enjoyed some earlier exercise in the Department, but Bernard Jennings had lost the manual.

From its conception and acceptance by the Extension Lectures Committee in session 1970/71 to its inception the following year with some thirty classes, into its consolidation in 1973/74 with some 400 students and on into 1977/78 with some twenty classes and about 250 students and its demise in 1982/83, the scheme saw more than 200 students gain the certificate. At the peak, twenty-five tutors were teaching on the scheme and a considerable proportion of these were newcomers to the role. The task of recruiting such a team—a term not lightly used—was formidable. Briefing, monitoring and co-ordination was a prodigious business—especially when it is recognized that the resources provided amounted to no more than the salary of a part-time though wonderfully effervescent secretary and the key to the stationery cupboard.

Courses dealing with aspects of society had, of course, long featured in departmental provision. As is probably inevitable in extramural work, these had enjoyed cycles of success and decline and moved through international concerns, politics, public administration and social organization. The end of the 1960s, however, seemed to call for a more urgent, embracing and coherent programme.

In retrospect, while the introduction of the scheme was highly creditable and responsive to a manifest 'demand', the consequences of the consolidation and flowering of the scheme were preposterous. They drew upon a presumption of the willingness and capabilities of staff which proved just well-founded enough for the scheme to operate but which ground a rod for their backs.

What did the scheme entail? It was a three-year course of thirty two-hour classes per year of which the first provided a foundation for the study of society. The second year consolidated and deepened the understanding of certain aspects of this embracing content, depending on the specialist interests of the tutor and the class. An alternative involved a second year of social psychology. The third year entailed an option from a range offered toward the end of the second. These options capitalized more crucially on the expertise of the tutor and might be as narrow as criminology, or the sociology of religion or language, for example. The scheme was most delicate about the usage of the term 'sociology' for a great many reasons! Overall, the scheme abided strictly by the tenets of the Department's principles in providing courses which matched the standards of undergraduate degree courses, though over a narrower range of subject matter, and requiring the completion of set reading and written work and their equivalents. There were no cracks between the Raybouldian boards. Aspects of the participatory nature of the scheme, the times and the students were reflected in the examination procedure which generally employed seen papers. One tutor, who subsequently found a temporarily truer vocation as barker at a fairground, developed a conscientious objection to setting written work or examination papers in the course of his teaching. His students survived the challenge. As with all certificate courses in the Department, of course, the student was a free agent in choosing whether or not to sit the examination and for many it was no goal.

After giving a public seminar at the University sometime in the 1970s, Peter Townsend—an indefatigable analyst of the nature and persistence of poverty and inequity in British society—was asked, with something of a sneer, what, if anything, his accumulated work had actually accomplished. Townsend and much of his audience were probably taken aback. Historically speaking, though, the asking of the question was more illustrative of the times than what Townsend had to say. So, what did the relatively brief heyday of the Social Studies Certificate scheme accomplish?

Along with other Certificate courses, it became, for the Open University, a credit-worthy, if minor, increment towards a degree. For students, it generated a lively community of learning, discussion, argument and an enhanced awareness of what happened in societies. For a band of tutors, new and familiar, it provided a wealth of student numbers and of class viability beyond the wildest dreams. For new tutors, it provided a springboard into adult education and its rewards which was, if opportunistic, exciting.

For the Department, apart from the gift of a secretary, the scheme contributed little—no significant addition in academic staff, expertise or income. Staff drawn into the programme proved as idiosyncratic, wilful and intractable as they had always been, determined not to go beyond what they were confident they could teach exemplarily. Yet they were unstinting in their support, advice and good humour.

For the University at large, the runaway success of the scheme was not greeted with the enthusiasm which might have been expected. It did not evidently accelerate the introduction of part-time degrees, and it did not achieve a formal recognition for students' work equivalent to that granted by the Open University. A number of students did move from the Certificate to full-time study, but this had long been going on. Of course, at that time, the Department acknowledged a sort of marginality in embracing Extramural Studies in its title and there did seem to be a frustrating lack of leverage from outside to move anything inside. In addition, the internal departments on whose tutors and good will the scheme depended had their own defences to look to in internal rivalries.

In due time, of course, student recruitment was not sustained, a circumstance reflected, perhaps, in the observation that there is no such thing as society. The closure of the curtains could be taken as justifying the reluctance to commit resources to the scheme commensurate with its peak. With a flick of the page those curious times, the endeavours, the hopes are consigned to the past. This is their slight memorial.

17

A Little Bit of Leeds on Foreign Soil: the Bradford Centre

Tony Jowitt

> Leeds and Bradford had much in common … in early Victorian England, but there were marked differences between them which were perpetuated in late Victorian England and remain sharp today. Sometimes the differences were deliberately accentuated in intense urban rivalry. Close to each other, yet never part of one great whole as were Manchester and Salford, Leeds and Bradford prided themselves on their individuality. Their pride was echoed in all the smaller communities of the West Riding … All the lesser local rivalries are mirrored, as it were, in the rivalry between Leeds and Bradford.[1]

> Bradford became … at once one of the most provincial and yet one of the most cosmopolitan of English provincial cities. Its provincialism was largely due to its geographical situation. It is really in a backwater. The railway main lines went to Leeds, ten miles away, and not to Bradford, with the result that Leeds, though it has never had the world wide reputation of Bradford, is a larger city and of much greater local importance. It was Leeds and not Bradford that became the great marketing centre of West and Mid-Yorkshire. Leeds has a University and law courts: Bradford has not … A city that has mixed trades will probably have some of its corners rubbed off; it must work with other places but Bradford with its one trade was all corners, hard provincial angles … Bradford was determinedly Yorkshire and provincial, yet some of its suburbs reached as far as Frankfort or Leipzig.[2]

The existence of a Leeds University Adult Education Centre in Bradford always produced quizzical looks, especially after the foundation of Bradford University in 1967. But for more than thirty years the Centre, an outpost of one of the great provincial English universities, provided liberal adult education, and much more, as we shall see, for the citizens of Bradford.

From its foundation in 1946 the Extramural Studies Department of Leeds University had provided classes in Bradford, but up to the opening of a specific Adult Education Centre in December 1956 that provision had been fairly limited. Starting with four classes in 1946/47 this had gradually risen to sixteen sustained courses and two public lectures in 1955/56, the vast bulk of them being held in the Mechanics Institute. It is interesting to look back at the subjects which were taught, which varied little from year to year with classes in international relations, economics, music appreciation, geology, literature and philosophy and, most enduring and popular of all at the time, history of drama courses and the rapidly emergent criminology.

The size and pattern of the Bradford programme changed with the opening of the Centre in Mornington Villas, by the Vice-Chancellor in December 1956. Specifically, the Bradford programme changed from the simple provision of individual courses to a wider range of educational and cultural courses in the context of a Centre. The classes were supplemented by a summer-term programme of single lectures, play readings, art exhibitions and music recitals. Commitment to the Centre was enhanced by the development of a Centre Members scheme, operated by an elected committee of Centre students which provided a common-room with book and gramophone lending arrangements, a refectory and a bar.

From the outset the Centre was seen as both an educational and a cultural centre for the city and under the first warden, Roy Shaw, the latter role was increasingly emphasized. The Centre rapidly became the place where the leading issues of the day were discussed, particularly in the public lecture programme. In 1958/59 John Braine participated in a day event on *Room at the Top*; Harry Ambler, the Chief Constable of Bradford, kicked off a series of lectures on 'Crime and Punishment', and S. G. Wardley, the Borough Engineer, outlined his plans for the redevelopment of Bradford. By 1960/61 it was accommodating eighteen sustained courses, two week-end courses, six Saturday morning lectures on Christian Unity and thirty-four public lectures. As the warden reported in his annual report of that year, 'Much of the work was experimental, or casting bread upon the water. We did too many things, partly as a result of our own enthusiasm, and partly in response to local events and requests.'

The success of the Centre revolved around its Centre Membership scheme and its role as a general cultural centre for the city. This pattern continued after Roy Shaw left to take up his appointment as the first director of extramural studies at the University of Keele and was succeeded as warden first by G. R. Dalby in 1962, and then by Jim Swarbrick in 1969.

In some respects the mid 1960s was a high-water mark in the history of the Bradford Centre, with over four hundred students attending sustained courses, an average of fifteen public lectures per year, five or six Saturday half-day courses, film evenings and a lively arts exhibition programme. Some of the numbers at individual events were remarkable given the limited nature of the accommodation, with, for example, 197 people attending a joint presentation by Quentin Bell and Richard Hoggart.

The mid 1960s also marked the beginning of a period of change in the role of the Centre. The class programme was starting to outgrow the facilities. This led to the use of the common-room for classes and the beginnings of the decline of the key role of Centre membership. This was compounded by the building of the new Bradford Central Library which at that time was the biggest in Europe and provided a range of facilities which increasingly saw the demise of the Centre's book and gramophone record lending. A change in the ownership of the building, with the Bradford Jewish Institute being replaced as landlords and joint tenants by the Bradford Bridge Club, saw the loss of the large room used for one-off prestigious events. In 1967 Bradford University received its charter and increasingly the part-time teaching staff were recruited from that institution. But the most significant changes were in the development in the city of a wide range of social and cultural facilities, particularly at Bradford Playhouse and the new University, which made the Centre's position as a cultural focal point in the city increasingly untenable. Finally, the nature of the student population was changing as the first generation from the welfare-state era appeared in adult education and the historic role of adult education in dealing with those who had left school at an early age was coming to be reassessed.

The Centre's role had been recognized by a Leeds University committee on non-residential centres when it reported in 1971 that 'The Centre provides a student centre and a focus for cultural activities within the area, affording opportunities for a wide range of educational activities and for organizations as well as individuals, to identify with the extramural aims of the University.' The 1971 report came in the middle of a period of transition, which coincided with the wardenship of Jim Swarbrick from March 1969 to September 1973.[3] Because his experience was particularly relevant, he took on this unexpected post at a few days' notice, for a finite period, and within months of arriving in Leeds after five years in Tanzania. This had been part of a joint appointment instigated by Professor Raybould through a scheme operated by the Inter-Universities Council for Higher Education Overseas. The overt aim was to aid newly independent Commonwealth states. But many expatriates were deeply influenced by the experience of working in adult education where it had a key part to play in national development, and was valued as an agent for empowerment and change. This approach can be seen as his starting point for the Centre's response to the external changes referred to above. During this transitional period there began a testing-out of a more varied role for the Centre. The traditional provision of courses and cultural events expanded to cover a wider range of activities. There was greater emphasis on reaching a more diverse but also more specific clientele, and a seeking out of co-operation with other agencies.

Existing links with the Bradford WEA were strengthened and fostered, with benefits for course recruitment and ever-expanding use of the premises. Women's organizations and ethnic-minority groups were more evident in the network of contacts. More liaison with local government, different sections of the work-force, and trade unions enabled the Centre to address the needs of specific groups. For example, a day school on local government reform (1971) targeted local councillors, local government officers and political organizations, and attracted over fifty people. A similar event on the Criminal Justice Act (1972) was aimed at probation officers, social workers and the police; and a series of seminars took place on the changing structure of social work.

The Centre was concerned to respond to emerging social needs in, for example, the provision of pre-retirement courses, and to stimulate awareness of the need for continuing education. Public lectures of the period included subjects like the potential impact of computers on society, developments in genetics, and on issues of urban development. Day schools and seminars aimed to inform, and provide space for debate on national contemporary topics-like Britain's entry into European Common Market, and the Industrial Relations Act—and to address the role of Bradford institutions, like the local press, the social services, and the new university.

The more innovative nature of the Bradford Centre's programme during these four and a half years sprang primarily from the efforts of the warden and the administrator, Diane Jacks. Its significance is that it began to open up the

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traditionally defined function of the Centre. It suggested the possibility of a more flexible role, one more responsive to the changing educational needs of Bradford's adult population.

In 1973 Richard Taylor was appointed warden, and Tony Jowitt assistant warden. Margaret Aykroyd continued as Centre secretary, providing a crucial source of local knowledge and, equally important, a knowledge of the Centre, its adult students and its often idiosyncratic ways of working. The ten years in which the three worked together at the Centre saw a dramatic increase in the numbers attending and more importantly major changes in its orientation. Its role as a cultural centre for the city having been usurped by a range of new organizations, the Centre radically reassessed its role within the local community. In particular it aimed to embed itself more clearly within the local community and change its provision in the light of the changing nature of the adult education market. The University appointed a lecturer, Jean Gardiner, to the Department to work in Bradford with special responsibility for community adult education. Rapidly, the Centre developed courses with the educationally disadvantaged—ethnic minorities, the unemployed, women and retired people. Overall, the number of courses increased to a yearly average of forty with a major increase in daytime provision. The Friday night public lecture programme was expanded and day and weekend schools brought in as a major component of Centre provision. A programme of day schools specifically for social workers and those in related professions was developed.

The Centre pioneered the first New Opportunities for Women (NOW) programme in the region with the provision of a crèche in the Centre. It instituted Access courses in the Humanities and had a thriving day-release programme for shop stewards from the textile industry, local government, engineering and the Fire Service. It started a series of publications recording important events held at the Centre and became the central agency in the development of local historical studies, for which Bradford earned a national reputation in the 1970s and 1980s.

The developments at the Bradford Centre in the 1970s were at the forefront in pioneering new modes of presenting adult education, in finding new sources of students, and creating a university adult education appropriate to the social and economic changes which were confronting Britain, and in particular changes within the local economy.

As important, if not more so, was the role which the Centre played within the local community. As a small outpost of a large but somewhat distant university it played a leading role in mediating and liaising amongst much larger local players. Out of this work emerged the Local Development Council for Adult Education which spawned the still surviving and influential Education Advice Service for Adults. The Centre also built up a whole series of mutually beneficial linkages with a range of local institutions including the Library Service, Bradford College, Bradford University, the Museums Service, Bradford Playhouse and Film Theatre and the Archives. These partnerships saw the emergence of such things as Lunchtime Lectures at Bradford Central Library, a Certificate in European Studies with Bradford University and a large programme of courses and events with Bradford Playhouse in all aspects of media studies.

Richard Taylor departed, to work back in Leeds, in 1983 but, with the appointment of Tony Jowitt as warden in 1983, much of this work continued, although increasingly threatened by the vicissitudes of government policy which for much of the 1980s was overtly hostile to liberal adult education. Developments in the late 1980s increasingly moved to the rhythm of government funding mechanisms, and in particular to funding by numbers. In addition the Centre developed an extensive programme of self-financed updating courses.

The final twist of the tale came in the late 1980s with the appointment of a Director of Continuing Education at Bradford University and the search for a satisfactory accommodation between the neighbouring universities on liberal adult education provision in Bradford. The first stage of this accommodation came in 1989 when the Centre staff moved into Bradford University premises which were used for classes, public lectures and day schools. In the following year this was carried a stage further when the Bradford Centre staff and the funding for them was transferred from Leeds to Bradford University for a transitional period up to 1995. The Leeds connection was not severed but increasingly watered down, with Bradford University undertaking the responsibility for non-vocational adult and continuing education in Bradford.

The Bradford Centre provided, and still provides in another guise, university adult education and this will always be its central role. However, the role of the Centre was always more than just that. It was a place in which serious study combined with leisure and recreation, where many friendships were forged, where the loneliness of the stranger and the elderly was often overcome and where new vistas and sometimes new careers were first perceived. The Centre, in the best tradition of British adult education, combined educational purpose with a whole host of forms of social assistance.

The Centre changed over the more than thirty years of its existence, reflecting and at the same time sometimes leading changes in the local community and its citizens. In the 1950s and early 1960s it was a leading cultural centre in the city, combining adult education with a role as an arts centre. In the 1970s and 1980s it pioneered work with the educationally disadvantaged, reflecting the need to address the consequences of economic restructuring within the local economy. In the latter period it also developed pathways for students into the new mass higher education through NOW courses and one of the few evening Access programmes in the region.

What will happen to university non-vocational adult and continuing education in the next decade is a matter of some debate and no little concern, but it seems in retrospect that for its size and its cost the Centre has played a disproportionate role in the educational, cultural and social life of Bradford since the mid 1950s. It even managed to overcome the endemic rivalry between Bradford and Leeds, for it was supported for much of its existence by financial grant from Bradford Council. Although the provision of funding always raised a few eyebrows amongst Bradford councillors, the quality of its contribution to the life of Bradford overcame the suspicions of its sister city. That role is increasingly being devolved to Bradford University and it is only right that the local university should provide for the adult and continuing education needs of its local community. But the work of the Leeds University Adult Education Centre in Bradford for more than thirty years has provided the base upon which to develop adult education in the 1990s and beyond.

When the Centre moved from Mornington Villas hundreds of students, past and present, came to celebrate its work, reflecting the esteem in which it was held. Amongst many there was trepidation about what would happen with the move away from its homely little base in Manningham on to the University campus, and from an institution with a long and proud tradition in extramural education to a technological university without such a heritage. Only time will tell whether it was a judicious move, but it was a necessary step in the changes which are sweeping higher education and in the short term it has retained, and indeed expanded, its student population. Its future lies in the hands of government ministers and high-ranking university committees, but consideration of that future should bear in mind the important contribution it has made over a long period to Bradford and to many of its citizens.[4]

References

1 A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1968), 150–151.

2 J. B. Priestley, *English Journey* (Heinemann, 1934), 158–160.

3 This section on Jim Swarbrick's period as warden of the Bradford Centre was written by Ailsa Swarbrick and I am very grateful to her for this contribution.

4 It is impossible in such a short piece to do justice to all those who worked at the Centre, whether in ancillary or secretarial posts, or as part-time tutors. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that their contribution has often been as significant as those mentioned in the text. The Centre was fortunate in having those staff and although team-work is a somewhat over-used phrase in many circumstances, in the case of the Centre it was certainly true that each and every person who worked there played a significant role in its success.

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A Different Vision? The Middlesbrough Centre

Malcolm Chase

Like all close communities, the Middlesbrough Centre has accumulated a rich folklore. Certain incidents in its history have achieved an almost mythic quality. Much might be made of the night a distinguished colleague fled from the building believing it to be haunted. The rivalry of two of the Department's 'young turks' (keen motorists both, and each now the occupant of a professorial chair in Continuing Education) to record the fastest times for the journey between Leeds and Middlesbrough could sustain a modest essay. Then there was the administrator and the squirrel (deceased), and Sir Harold Wilson and the joint of beef. Though intriguing, such incidents are better left to mythology. They cast no real light on the history of an initiative which is today a sizeable part of the Department's operation, contributing around a quarter of the funded programme. Nor do they illuminate the distinctive vision of university adult education which underpinned the Centre for much of its history.

Middlesbrough was Sidney Raybould's home town. The opening of the Centre in 1958 can be seen as an act of filial piety: certainly some members of the Department believed that Raybould had a 'soft spot' for the Centre, permitting it a degree of latitude not much in evidence elsewhere. Even now, the memory of Raybould is green on Teesside: as a dashing cricketer for the Marton club before the war; as a mainstay of the local WEA during the Depression; and as a humorous, unpatronizing man, very much at ease in the company of other people's children, whom he treated as equals. He was 'one of the greatest men I ever met', recalled an early student, a 'bus worker and East Cleveland labour leader, on the occasion of being awarded the fifty years' long service award of the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1990. This is a very different Sidney Raybould from the one that emerges in adult education history: and the esteem in which he was held, and the warmth with which he reciprocated it, help explain how Leeds comes to be on Teesside.

It is not, however, a sufficient explanation. The opening of the Centre was also the culmination of the process by which Leeds staked out the boundaries of its 'extramural empire', a chance correspondence eleven years before having raised in Raybould's mind an anxiety that Durham University might extend south of the River Tees.[1] The situation was already fraught because of extramural activity by the University College of Hull in the region. From 1946 to 1949 Hull had, in Richard Hoggart, a dynamic resident tutor on Teesside, and strained relations between the Hull and Leeds directors were mirrored at the local level. 'One of Raybould's tutors, a solemn and conscientious man, complained to him not that I was trying to establish more classes than were agreed but that my one class was so successful as to pose a possible threat. The combination of pettiness and devoted application did not diminish in all those years.'[2]

The person Raybould chose as warden of his northern frontier post was John Saunders, a literature specialist who had joined the Department in 1949 as its first 'extension' lecturer, and who had been based in Middlesbrough since 1956. The appointment was a profoundly significant one. Saunders was an energetic publicist for university extension. In the mid 1950s he had been encouraged by Raybould to research and proselytize among extramural departments the merits of supplanting joint tutorial classes with direct provision of their own. At the same time he encouraged Saunders to develop heretical notions on the issue of awards. Saunders did so cheerfully, though he concedes 'the argument was Sid's', notably in an essay 'University extension renascent' (his contribution to Raybould's *Trends in English Adult Education* published just after the opening of the Centre).[3] University extension has a character of its own and is independent of any older (i.e. the joint tutorial) tradition; an ability to succeed in examinations is part of the process of being educated, and an adult student's success in them sets 'the seal of an agreed standard on meritorious study and in addition would symbolise membership of the University'.[4]

The symbolic importance of university membership lay at the heart of the vision that Saunders, with Raybould's support, framed for the Centre: Middlesbrough especially had a crying need for a university platform, preferably outrageous, always stimulating, forcing people to rethink faiths and prejudices, becoming thereby more civilized and indeed more human. It was essential that the platform should be objective and impartial, and should not manifest any particular political prejudice, not even the cause of the underprivileged.

From its inception the Centre was to be a 'University House'—this and 'University Centre' generally being preferred to 'adult education centre'. It was intended as much more than a permanent location for Leeds classes in the area. Middlesbrough was 'a town without a University'. The Centre was set down in what was then its only middle-class suburb, with the avowed intention that it should fulfil that broader cultural and social role that in other cities derived from the presence of a university. It was a propitious time for such a venture for Middlesbrough was at the height of its prosperity. Its history as a major manufacturing centre was relatively short, and notable for two distinctive features: phenomenal growth on a 'green-field' site from the 1820s, and a disproportionately large working-class population. In consequence Middlesbrough was—as to some extent it remains—an unusual social formation in which the customary trappings of 'polite' culture and civic pride (in other northern manufacturing centres an obvious fruit of the Victorian era) were scanty. In 1958 it had no art gallery; no facilities for professional theatre; nor even any claim to be a regional shopping centre (a function filled until the 1970s by Stockton).

In short, Middlesbrough was largely bereft of an hospitable cultural milieu for an educated middle class, local members of which had long tended to settle in market towns and villages of its North Riding hinterland. However, the post-war expansion of Teesside's chemical industry, as ICI developed a vast new complex four miles east of Middlesbrough, rapidly augmented the ranks of the middle class in the region. The large Edwardian house which the Department acquired was situated at the boundary between Linthorpe, the town's sole Victorian suburb, and the post-war suburban development of Acklam; and it sat in Harrow Road, adjoining other streets—Eton, Cambridge and Oxford—whose names had a special resonance, one suspects, for its moving spirits. With easy access to popular commuter centres south and east, the Centre was intended to play a significant, even strategic, role in the definition of a new Middlesbrough. Many shared in the vision of what a University Centre might be in such a context. 'It filled a unique and hitherto missing function in the town's life', recalls a former member of Hoggart's class. 'It drew all sorts of frustrated people to it who had not had the chance to go to university.' 'A vast and gloomy place for only two or three classes. It seemed like a barn', remembers one of the first handful of students to enrol there; and yet he stresses that unlike the Newport Settlement, where previous courses had been located, 'it did have a University atmosphere, even at its inception'.

Not everyone in Middlesbrough, however, shared in celebrating this new cultural presence. There was considerable suspicion among the controlling Labour group of the Borough Council, whose 'old guard' was composed of many who owed a great deal to the WEA. The local authority's hope was to create a Central Adult Education Institute on a town-centre site, to be used both for the Borough's provision and that of other providers. Raybould was cool to any involvement in this initiative, and the Council reciprocated: approval for the proposed change from residential to educational use at 37 Harrow Road was secured only with difficulty, and the Council declined to make more than a token gesture of financial support to the Centre, which was purchased entirely from University Grants Committee funds. In part, the Council's opposition may simply have derived from hostility—not unfamiliar in post-war northern labourism—to anything it was unable to control. However, the Centre's élitism could be read as patronizing and even pompous. As the warden later wrote (in a letter Raybould described as 'admirable from our point of view') to Middlesbrough's Director of Education, declining any direct involvement in a Central Adult Education Institute: 'When we established this Centre in 1958, we considered that our own branch of University Adult Education, could best thrive in a homogeneous community wholly dedicated to arduous essays in objective thinking and creative imagining. This remains our policy.'[5]

The Centre also had an ambiguous relationship with the local WEA, to which its facilities were denied for the first eight years it was open, and thereafter made available only somewhat grudgingly. On the other hand, facilities were extended, for a modest fee, to 'affiliate societies', numbering around thirty at their peak and including the Teesside Gramophone Society, the Faculty of Teachers in Commerce, the Newman Association, a Business and Professional Women's Club, and the Teesside Marriage Guidance Council. In later years their ranks were augmented by a number of trade unions, and by societies that emerged out of class activities, for example the area's Local History and Industrial Archaeology societies. However, for the first decade or so of its history, it is hard to avoid the impression that there existed at the Centre a contrasting social and educational mission to that which drove much of the rest of the Department. At its heart lay a belief that the most receptive audience for a university presence would be found among the ranks of the middle class, and that courses were not in themselves sufficient expression of that presence. Hence the encouragement given to affiliate societies, and the energetic involvement of the warden in a wide range of local organizations and campaigns, most notably that for a separate University for Teesside.[6]

The most obvious manifestation of this mission was 'Friday Night at the Centre', a programme combining celebrity lectures, occasional concerts and (mainly foreign) cinema. Six bishops, nine peers, at least twenty-five professors, innumerable academics, and a range of other speakers (from John Trevelyan on film censorship to Jack Charlton on football hooliganism) feature in the list of the hundred most popular lectures alone.[7] Between 1958 and 1981 there were 566 such lectures, with an average attendance in the nineties, plus a programme of fortnightly cinema in term time. 'Nothing else, to my mind', believed John Saunders, 'was as good as "Friday Night at the Centre".'[8] That it was a distinctive and valuable contribution to the cultural life of Teesside there is no question. It acquired a reputation as a place where things happened, and for robustness in debate and openness in discussion. It attracted numerous speakers who were unlikely otherwise to have visited Teesside, among them Germaine Greer, who was moved to add the following to the penultimate chapter, 'Rebellion', of *The Female Eunuch*:

> Despite chaos and misconception, the new feminism grows apace … When I addressed a very mixed and uneccentric audience at an adult education centre on Teesside … soft-spoken nervous women spoke in front of their husbands about the most subversive ideas. Nurses are misbehaving, the teachers are on strike, skirts are all imaginable levels, bras are not being bought, abortions are being demanded … rebellion is gathering steam and may yet become revolution.[9]

Many, however, both within and outwith the Department, questioned the resources which the Centre absorbed, and the philosophy underlying it. The vibrancy of Friday nights was not on the whole matched by the Centre's class programme. The number of students rose to a peak of 289 (19 courses) in 1964/65, and then dropped for two successive sessions through the autumn of 1966, the time of its first (and last) full HMI inspection. The ensuing report contains four striking features. The first is a complete silence—almost certainly premeditated—about 'Friday Night at the Centre', though there is a cryptic comment on a proposal 'to devote generous funds to … a large lecture theatre with fixed raked seating and a fixed stage. This may not be sufficiently flexible to serve well for a variety of teaching, social and other purposes.' The second is a criticism of the building's spatial isolation, which meant that 'a considerable number' of its students had to reach it by car. 'Connections across the river and from some parts of the area whose population is least likely to own cars, are poor.' The third feature of the report is a sustained critique of the Centre's institutional isolation. HMIs found 'no evidence of co-operation' between the Centre and the WEA, save for a single WEA sessional class (the first ever) held in the building. Links with the much trumpeted affiliated societies 'seem to be few and rarely if ever important'. 'Co-operation with other bodies and institutions responsible for the provision of work in the broad field of adult education is disappointingly slight', a feature which was the more disturbing in the light of the impending formation of a unitary County Borough of Teesside.[10]

Finally, the HMIs' report addressed the very ark of the Raybouldian covenant: university standards. Sustained courses were modest in number, size, scope and achievement, relative to the resources invested in the Centre; student retention rates between sessions were low; written work was variously described as 'at a disappointing level', as playing 'no significant part', and 'in a few instances … good and substantial … though none reached the highest levels seen in this field'.[11]

It was not a happy event in the Centre's history, and the reaction was predictably belligerent. Raybould questioned the whole notion of HMIs' being qualified to comment on facilities and arrangements which were not DES-funded, whilst at the same time arguing that the class programme could be expanded only if further DES funds were made available. A trenchant defence of the principle of three-year tutorial classes was made, but interestingly criticisms of the quality and frequency of written work went unanswered.[12] In the ensuing years, however, attempts were made to meet some of the criticisms. Following the appointment of a staff-tutor in the subject for Cleveland, industrial studies courses were introduced for the steel industry. A programme of weekend day schools was developed, and further use of the building by the WEA was encouraged. Closer links with LEA provision were sought which a few years later—in the wake of the Russell Report—bore fruit in collaborative publicity and, to some extent, planning. A two-year tutorial-class model was widely substituted for the standard three-year one (two years each of thirty meetings, instead of three of twenty-four), which went some way to meeting the problem of student drop-out and was particularly suited to classes with field-work components such as archaeology in which (along with psychology) the Centre excelled, as the Inspectors had recognized. However, the lecture theatre went ahead as planned, complete with fixed rake, red plush seating acquired from the Metropole Cinema, Middlesbrough, to stand empty for most of its life save for Friday nights in season, and occasional affiliated society bookings. Discounting day-release provision for steelworkers, however, the class programme based at the Centre remained relatively modest, especially by present-day standards.

It is unfair, perhaps, to criticize the levels of provision made in more leisured times, before funding was driven by measure of output. But the modest scope of the class programme, combined with the demands of 'Friday Night at the Centre' and the particular social slant of the student body, made the Centre appear fragile in the late 1970s. The resources bound up there (which came entirely from departmental funds) came to be more openly questioned, especially by the less sympathetic. The relevance of its vision was also less evident in a decade that nationally saw the consolidation of the Open University and BBC 2 as rival attractions to sustained classes and celebrity lectures. Regionally, the development of Newcastle and York as cultural centres paralleled the growth of car ownership. Locally, Middlesbrough acquired more of the vestiges of civic culture and voluntary organizations (in part, it should be recognized, as a result of the Centre's agency); and the formation in 1970 of Teesside Polytechnic—with an extensive commitment to part-time qualifications—had fundamentally redrawn the map of post-compulsory education in the area. In other words, there was emerging a plethora of rival attractions for the Centre's main student constituency, without (or so it seemed) compensating means through which to attract new ones.

When, in 1979, the University instituted a detailed report on the

Department and policy options for its future, under the chairmanship of the then professor of Pharmacology and Pro-Vice-Chancellor, John Barratt, it was widely felt that the future of the provision on Teesside might be limited: 'we therefore considered', stated the Barratt Report, 'whether there was still a need for a physical presence there'.[13]

Fortunately, the report, issued in June 1981, was compiled just as the first in a series of changes which were to remould the Centre during the 1980s occurred. It was fortuitous that the decline of the steel industry had yet to impact on the industrial studies programme, so that this aspect at least of the Centre's class programme was thriving. The Centre was perhaps also fortunate in that the future of both it and the Bradford Centre were effectively considered as a single issue. The previous year, during an interregnum in the Centre's management, occasioned by the warden's study-leave, other full-time staff based in the region had become involved in planning and policy decisions. They were joined by a new assistant warden with a background in cultural studies and the women's movement who developed, for the first time in Middlesbrough, educational programmes especially for women. At the same time the network through which part-time lecturers were recruited was extended. The Barratt Report recognized that there were grounds for optimism about the contribution the Department might make to post-compulsory education on Teesside, even though the evidence of this was as yet mainly inchoate. Implicitly, it also gave a vote of confidence to the collective management style which had developed during the acting wardenship of Barry Harrison in 1980/81. In August 1981 this approach was formalized in the Centre Management Committee, convened by an academic co-ordinator on an annual rota. This replaced the wardenship, the assistant's post being converted into an administrative appointment.

The Committee was apt to be sensitive in its relations with 'Leeds', and at times generated not a little heat. However, probably no other form of management could have secured such a degree of individual and collective commitment, at a time when all were 'well aware that the Middlesbrough Centre is "on Trial"'.[14] Generally, the relationship between the Committee and its administrator changed. This was partly a function of continuity, as the previously frequent turnover of assistant wardens gave way at the end of 1982 to a stable appointment. It was also in part a consequence of gender: no attempt, for example, was made to impose upon the (male) administrator the housekeeping responsibilities (flower arranging, laundering towels, and so on) that had appeared in the duties of previous (female) assistant wardens. On the other hand, considerable discretion was allowed in shaping the programme and strengthening community links so that, for example, by 1987 the holder of this post was elected chair of the Cleveland County Adult Education Liaison Committee. At the same time, by common consent of the Centre's staff, the Friday night programme steadily diminished in prominence and frequency. The affiliated societies' claims upon the resources of the Department likewise declined.

All this would have been to little purpose had the class programme not grown dramatically over the same period, from approximately 21 full-time equivalent students (ftes calculated on the basis of 300 student contact hours for 1 fte) in 1981/82, to 188 ftes in 1991/92. This was achieved through large-scale expansion of the daytime programme, building on a bedrock of New Opportunities for Women (NOW) classes, and significant development for the first time of a programme outside the Centre. Initially, this aspect of the Centre's activity reflected staff interests and networks in mainly rural locations. Later, a community outreach programme—notably in creative writing—has developed with an emphasis upon the inner area of the Teesside conurbation.

There is a tendency for histories of this type to become purely descriptive and laden with encomia as they approach the present. Some attempt at summarizing the current situation is, however, necessary. Since 1990 three externally-funded continuing education research and development projects have been based at the Centre. In 1991 the Management Committee was lapsed and the staffing establishment reformulated, through the creation of a full-time academic post of Centre co-ordinator, and establishment of an advisory committee.

Little if anything remains of the original vision of a University Centre for a town without a University. Teesside now has a university, of course, with which the Centre enjoys a convivial and complementary working relationship. The continued southern growth of Middlesbrough now places Harrow Road roughly in the middle of the Borough, though no one pretends that access 'from those parts of the area whose population is least likely to own cars' has got any easier. Pressure on accommodation is such that the lecture theatre, for all its faults, is now in regular use as a classroom. A vestigial Friday night programme survives in the form of 'Poetry Live!', but this is a joint venture with Middlesbrough Borough Council, and is held in the upstairs room of a pub in the town. The sobriquet of Middlesbrough University Centre has long been discarded. The Adult Education Centre remains a distinctive part of the Department, but no longer can its vision be said to be a contrasting one.

Acknowledgements

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19

Less Lucky, Less Stroppy or What?

Jean Gardiner and Rebecca O'Rourke

Introduction

Our title comes from this book's final chapter where Chris Duke contrasts his experience with that of a female contemporary appointed at the same time as him. Whilst his own 'slightly stroppy persistence' in pursuing innovative, community-based adult education in Leeds in the late 1960s enabled him to exploit the 'principled pragmatism' of Raybould's Department, she fell prey to the ruthlessness of 'a tough and gritty regime … She never quite got a handle on the lonely extramural world.'[1]

This sets the scene for a review of how women staff have fared in a Department which, in its 1986 fortieth anniversary celebrations, saw no irony in celebrating the fourteen professors, all male, who had passed through the Department at a time when they had still to appoint a woman to a senior lectureship. Ten years on, there have been two women senior lecturers: Jenny Price (1987) and Miriam Zukas (1994), and in 1987 Frankie Todd was appointed at professorial level to head the new Department of Continuing Professional Education. But even in 1993 less than a quarter of academic staff were women compared with the national average of a third in university continuing education.[2] On the other hand, women administrators have always played a key role as have the large numbers of women clerical staff on whom the Department has depended throughout its history.

Our task in offering a women's perspective on fifty years has been challenging. We did not want women tokenistically included or cursorily dealt with. Nor did we want to be crones at the feast: muttering against the celebration. That said, women have not had an easy time as students and staff at Leeds and it is important to record and account for that, as well as to celebrate the achievements of women and, increasingly, of the Department as a whole in making Leeds as positive and supportive an environment for its women members and students to work in as it is for the men.

The data for this chapter and the next are drawn from two main sources: documentary records and interviews with past and present academic and academic-related staff. With more time we would have interviewed clerical and research staff, part-time tutors and students. A powerful constraint upon the interviews has been the difficulty of securing anonymity. This affected the questions we felt able to ask and the answers we were given. Of the twelve women interviewed, seven were lecturers and five were administrative and library staff. Although our sample is not large enough to draw statistical conclusions the research has uncovered important aspects of some women's experience which would otherwise have remained private and sometimes invisible even to the individuals involved.

'The influx of female members of staff'

Far more men than women were employed as full-time members of academic staff and as part-time tutors in the early years of the Department. During its first fifteen years Miss W. F. Robson, 1948–51, was the only woman to appear in the lists of academic staff. In that period classes taught by women part-time tutors appeared slightly more frequently on the Joint Committee programme, especially in English literature and music, but there were fewer than half a dozen courses taught by women each year out of a programme of sixty or seventy courses.

Women's marginalization as teachers in the early years was complemented by under-representation on the various committees directing the work of the Department. The twenty-four strong Board of Extra-Mural Studies had its first woman member, Lady Ogilvie, from 1949 to 1954. A female County Alderman was the next woman to be appointed in 1965. Other committees, Academic Advisory, Extension Lectures, Joint Tutorial and Residential College, had at various points one woman or, more frequently, none. Without access to the formal and informal institutional power of these management positions, women would have been less likely to advance their interests.

The appointment of Dorothy Burdis in 1962 as course tutor for the Northern Probation Course heralded the development of an area of work which increased the employment of women staff and recruitment of women

Gender Composition of Academic, Academic Related, Research and Clerical Staff Department of External Studies/Adult Continuing Education, 1987–1993

	1987/88		1988/89		1989/90		1990/91		1991/92		1992/93	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
FT Senior Ac	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	–	3	–	5	–
FT Lect Perm	11	1	10	1	8	1	5	2	6	2	6	2
PT Lect Perm	–	2	–	2	–	2	–	1	–	1	–	1
FT Lect Rolling									2	–	2	1
PT Lect Rolling									1	2	1	1
FT Lect Fixed	5	–	7	–	8	–	6	–	6	–	4	–
PT Lect Fixed	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	2				
Total Ac FTE	17.5	4	18.5	4	17.5	3	14.5	3	17.5	3	17.5	4
FT A/R Perm	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	4	–	3	–	4
FT A/R Fixed											–	1
PT A/R Fixed							–	1	1	–	1	–
Research Fixed	–	2	–	2	–	2	3	3	5	3	6	5
Total Ac, A/R, Res	20	10	21	12	20	10	19	11	24	11	25	14
Clerical	–	18	–	15	–	16	–	18	–	18	–	18

Note: the figures in the Table are taken from the Department's annual reports and exclude fully-seconded staff, and temporary staff employed for six months or less.

students. In 1966 Eileen Gabbitas was appointed as tutor on the probation course. In 1968 there was a further expansion of applied social studies with the setting up of the child care stream and the appointment of Janet Robson to run it, and in 1969 the Applied Social Studies Division was created. Without the women in applied social studies, female academic staff would have been virtually absent from the Department from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s. Most of these women were already established in their professions and several initially joined the Department on secondment from elsewhere. However, none of them became a senior lecturer and no woman ever headed the Division.

The late 1970s to early 1980s saw the first sustained increase in women staff in the Liberal Studies Division. Prior to that Jean le Patourel, 1967–80, was the only woman lecturer to remain in that division beyond a couple of years. In 1976 Jean Gardiner joined this division as lecturer in social studies with a special responsibility for community education, to be followed in 1980 by Jennifer Price and Carol Gibson-Wood who worked in mainstream liberal adult education, lecturing in archaeology and art history respectively. The Annual Report for 1979/80 refers to 'The influx of female members of staff'.[3] In that year the number of women academic staff reached its all time peak with ten lecturers, six of whom were in Applied Social Studies. Women were then 24 per cent of the academic staff (compared with 22 per cent in 1992/93, see Table, page 272). The movement of women into liberal adult education continued into the early 1980s with the appointment of Miriam Zukas in 1980, and Shirley Moreno and Jill Liddington in 1982.

The fact that an increase in female academic staff to less than a quarter was perceived as an 'influx' demonstrates how strong the traditional male culture of the Department remained. Perhaps it illustrates some nervousness about how far feminization would proceed. At any rate the 'influx' quickly came to a halt. The 1980s saw both a slight decline in the proportion of women academic staff and an increase in the proportion of part-time and fixed-term staff amongst women academics. By 1989/90 the number of women academic staff remaining in the restructured Department of External Studies had declined to five (two full-time), only half the level of 1979/80. Whilst the adverse financial climate had also taken its toll on male academic staff, the relative decline was slightly less, from 31 in 1979/80 to 18 in 1989/90. Part-time appointments were uncommon for men but a rising proportion of male staff found themselves on temporary contracts (see Table, page 272).

The overall proportion of women academic, academic-related and research staff did however improve in the 1980s and early 1990s. The role of administrative staff became increasingly important with changes in the funding of adult education, and women also increased their share of administrative posts. Likewise, there was an increase in research appointments from the early 1980s and women were well-represented in these appointments. In spite of the increased administrative work-load there was a large reduction in clerical staffing in the 1980s, from 29 in 1979/80 to 16 in 1989/90, and the ratio of clerical to academic and academic-related staff actually fell. However, clerical staff in the main administrative centre increased in numbers and became a more cohesive group: 'The morning coffee break became an "institution"'.

The 1986 *Annual Report* had signalled a forty per cent staffing reduction, to be implemented over three years, following major cuts in the University's funding from the UGC. It is not easy to track the overall impact of these cuts because of the subsequent restructuring of Continuing Education. However, the Table indicates that the new, smaller Department of External Studies managed remarkably well to retain and even increase its staffing. As the total academic, administrative and research staff increased from 30 in 1987/88 to 39 in 1992/93, women also slightly improved their share of those posts from 33 to 36 per cent.

Clerical staffing remained static, signalling increased work-loads for clerical staff supported by new technology, and reduced access for other staff to clerical support. The proportion of female academic staff (counted as full-time equivalents) also remained constant at only 18 per cent. Two women transferred from part-time to full-time posts during this period but no new full-time academic appointments, of which there were six, went to women. Only one black woman was appointed to an academic post and this was part-time and temporary. However, rolling contracts, which offer greater job security than standard fixed-term contracts, are more equitably divided between men and women than other forms of employment have been. It is encouraging to report that in 1994 Rebecca O'Rourke was appointed lecturer, Miriam Zukas was promoted to senior lecturer and Jenifer Devlin joined the Department as Accreditation Development Officer.

A welcoming space? *

For at least a half of the Department's history there has been a clear division in terms of career paths between administrative and clerical posts, with the former normally defined as graduate appointments, on the same salary scales as academic posts and hence termed 'academic related', in accordance with University standard practice. This separation was not always so clear and some clerical staff in earlier generations are known to have progressed from senior clerical to administrative posts, on the strength of proven administrative ability and not necessarily graduate status. For example, in 1946 Miss Marjorie Spink, a senior clerk who had been secretary to the Vice-Chancellor and Registrar, was appointed assistant to the Director of Extra-Mural Studies. In 1952 her post was renamed 'assistant secretary for university extension lectures' and by the time she retired in 1954, her calendar entry indicates administrative status. The post subsequently remained administrative with Pamela Cobb's appointment as assistant secretary.

Other posts have moved backwards and forwards between clerical and administrative grades. The Middlesbrough Centre administrative assistant post was converted to a clerical post in the mid 1970s and, as such, was filled by a sequence of women. The last of these was considering a claim against the University under the Equal Pay Act when she got another job and left. When her replacement, a man, was appointed the post had again reverted to an administrative grade. There has sometimes been an overlap in the actual work done by administrators and clerical staff. Clerical staff, especially the centre secretaries of Bradford and Middlesbrough, have been relied on to show new administrative staff the ropes and to deputize for wardens or co-ordinators during periods of illness of absence.

Promotion from clerical to academic-related grades has been rare in the University, and there appear to be only three cases in the Department's history. There are no instances of men being appointed to clerical posts and only two or three applications from men for clerical posts are recalled.

Although evidence from the interviews suggests that the Department is now a good place to be a female administrator, this does not seem to have been the case during its earlier history. In the 1960s high turnover rates of female administrative staff were common. Five women administrative assistants were employed at the Middlesbrough Centre in the period from

1960 to 1966. Even in the late 1960s the Department was experienced as a hostile and unwelcoming place for a woman administrator: 'The first staff conference I went to was in a hotel. I didn't know who were hotel guests and who were members of the Department. Nobody took the trouble to introduce me. There were young people, lecturers, but they were very much boys together.' Even as late as the 1970s women administrators experienced hostility from some academic men or were perceived as inferior by them: 'You're only an administrator, you don't understand.'

In recent years, the Department emerges in a more favourable light, offering job security, training opportunities and promotion to its women academic-related staff. The most recent restructuring of the Department created an assistant director (administrative), as well as an assistant director (academic), and this senior administrative post is held by a woman. Academic-related staff commented on the support received from senior male staff but also highlighted the important informal mentoring role played by other women staff: 'One of the strengths of the Department is that it has got women on the staff who are respected and who have responsible positions. I feel quite strongly that my development in the job has been on the strength of relations with these women and not at all in relationship with men.'

None the less, the opportunities for career progression within administration are limited within the confines of a single department. The dilemma of whether to stay in a job and department that you like or to seek progression by moving elsewhere can be a real one. It is interesting, in this respect, to note the different career path taken by most of the men who came into the Department initially as administrative staff. Out of the twelve men appointed to administrative posts since 1946, seven subsequently became lecturers in the Department, three went on to senior lectureships and two eventually to head of department and professor. This pattern of career progression for men was particularly common from the 1950s until the mid 1960s, when only one of the male administrative assistants did not make the move to staff tutor or lecturer. None of the nineteen women administrators who have worked in the Department has followed this route. This is partly a matter of choice. Two of the women we interviewed saw themselves first and foremost as administrators and did not want to teach. Conversely, many men appear to have gone into administration not as an end in itself but as a route into a university academic career.

The roles and aspirations of men and women administrators have also been perceived differently and hence different opportunities have flowed from this. For example, women administrators in the past may have been expected to play more of a servicing role than men were. Although women administrators themselves have strongly resisted being seen in this role and awareness and sensitivity about gender roles has increased greatly, it is still possible for women to find themselves doing tasks which are not part of the job: 'I'm likely to be asked to organize wine and crisps, even though I'm not going to be at the meeting. There is no logical reason why it should be me who does this. You allow it to happen but maybe less than in the past.' On the other hand reference was made to a departmental culture of equality since the 1980s which set Leeds apart from other similar departments: 'I've never felt the male academic staff put you down in any way or treat you differently. There's no waiting on male members of staff with cups of coffee.'

A more intractable problem is the way women are perceived and perceive themselves, each reinforcing the other. On the subject of career progression: 'men regard themselves as serious and weighty in a way that women do not. Because they do, other people do too. I will think about something but I don't automatically assume it's an important statement of interest to other people.' Perhaps more of the men have had a strategic approach to their career: 'Males and females have a different approach to getting things done. The female approach focuses on the task itself whilst the male approach is more likely to be concerned with how completion of the task will reflect on them. Men are good at building those stepping stones and having them mapped out.'

Finally, there is the strongly held view that it will go on being harder for women to move from administrative to academic posts because they lack the domestic support systems that have enabled some men to take on large amounts of teaching and research on top of their administrative jobs: 'If somebody has that career path, if that person is male, they are more likely to succeed, more likely to have a good domestic support system, more likely to go home to tea cooked for them, not to washing up and hoovering'.

For academic women a more mixed picture emerges with respect to career progression, especially when linked with working part-time. Four of the seven women interviewed had worked part-time for a significant period. For these women, even when their jobs had expanded and developed, career progression, in the sense of higher status and recognition had not followed during their years on part-time contracts. In some cases working part-time and remaining on the margins was a definite choice but still uncomfortable: 'I was full of ideas and very frustrated. I didn't want to sit there and say "we should do this or that" because I would not have been able to carry it out.' Moving to a part-time post is often perceived as a definite step back in career terms. 'After managing my own work for several years I was being managed by others, a junior member of the team.'

Several women had worked part-time, not from choice but because there were no full-time jobs available and some mentioned a desire to take on a major teaching or administrative responsibility which they felt they could have managed within their part-time post. However, 'people assumed that I wasn't interested in getting involved in anything more responsible or central to the Department because I was part-time.'

The domestic constraint is often a factor making it difficult to move around in search of jobs. For some, the very reasons that brought them into adult education make career progression difficult. 'I tend to face out rather than in, more than other people in the Department. I'm much less involved in the goings on with the University and there are penalties attached to that.'

If career advancement was based more on a collective view of how staff could best be used to achieve organizational objectives, rather than on the relationship of the individual to management, women would undoubtedly find it easier to gain promotion: 'women are generally poor at putting themselves forward if the outcome is a gain for "self", but very good at identifying their own and colleagues' ability to act for the collective good.'

Amongst the women academic staff we interviewed who felt that their careers had progressed within the Department, one woman mentioned the crucial informal mentoring role played by women administrative staff: 'I had this real sense of being brought on or mentored, both in terms of the structures and politics of the Department and in terms of the work I was doing and how it was going to develop.'

Some women mentioned that the new managerial approaches of recent years (work-profile meetings with the head of department and staff reviews) had been very helpful. 'It was really liberating, sitting down with someone and talking about my work. If, way back, someone had given me that managerial support I wouldn't have needed much of a push to do an MA.'

Where formalized support and decision-making systems are lacking, informal structures and friendship networks come into play and can have an undue influence on key decisions and career development. There are boundaries set around cross-gender friendship and these have been particularly difficult to negotiate in the generations that were moulded by single-sex education. Male friendship networks are perceived to have had a strong influence on the culture of the Department.

Several women commented on the absence of any support or encouragement to do research prior to the late 1980s. This absence, combined with the heavy administrative work-loads common in continuing education, meant that only single-minded and self-directed individuals, with the confidence and vision to carve out space for themselves and delegate time-consuming tasks to others, managed research at all. It is no accident that these individuals were men, although even among men they were a minority: 'The women all had absolutely enormous administrative loads. The assumption was—this was what we were good for—and, of course, the men could get on with their research. It was partly our own collusion. We also doubted out own capacities.'

There is a sense that individual women struggled to get an understanding of the Department they were in. It was a large and disparate organization and for much of its history there was no induction for new staff: 'Nobody ever took the time to explain to me how adult education was run, about joint courses and the WEA. Gradually you had to pick it up. At the staff conference I enjoyed meeting other people but it was a bit of an ordeal; I used to feel very much an outsider there.'

There have been few opportunities for gender issues related to staffing to be openly discussed. A women's assertiveness course organized for all the women administrative, clerical and academic staff in the early 1980s is recalled as a turning point. It gave some women the awareness and strategy they needed to work together to tackle their own invisibility in meetings:

> After that we worked out a technique. Two people were not enough. Three of us were needed, X and two others. You needed one person saying, 'I don't think we've heard X's view yet', and a second person to repeat 'I don't think we've heard X's view yet' and then X would have a chance to speak. This was so effective that we only had to use it a couple of times. It wasn't a big confrontational issue, it was just our own and the men's ignorance of what was happening.

Assertiveness is identified as a particularly crucial quality by those academic women who have been successful in advancing their careers. They also mention the need at times to resist an implicit, sometimes explicit, assumption that certain men had a prior claim for promotion. Single women and lesbian women experience a particular pressure to assert their own need for financial independence. They also benefit from the autonomy which comes with a domestic life not organized around supporting men. Assertiveness is more possible in this context but its transgression of femininity carries other risks.

The women academic staff have been fragmented in their areas of work and often geographically dispersed across the extramural region, which stretches from Teesside to Calderdale. Women have been divided by material factors such as race, class, sexuality and motherhood, just as much as, or more than, they have been united by gender identification. In each of these cases, those women experiencing a minority status, whether socially, in the Department, or both, have felt distanced from other women. And women have had contrasting degrees of job security. The culture of the Department has made it difficult for these different experiences to be expressed. For example, the silence of women who have children about their children is striking to some of those who do not: 'If women brought their kids into work, people might think "they're not being professional". Men don't have this problem and, if they are involved in child care, they are more likely to take their children into work with them. People just think, "aren't they cute?"' 'There is a lack of interest in children. I chose to keep quiet about being a mother, probably because I didn't feel it would enhance my credibility.'

Women have to learn to cope with enormous time pressures when babies are born. One woman recalled marking scripts while breastfeeding. Another took urgent correspondence with her to hospital when she went into labour and recalls 'finishing a chapter in twenty minute bursts, coinciding with the attention span of the baby'. The women who have had children place great value on the way motherhood has helped them in their jobs as enablers, teachers and managers. Yet there is a sense in which a major aspect of women's achievement and abilities for those who have children is written off, unmentionable: 'In this job being a mother is not seen as enriching you but as pulling you away.'

For some women job insecurity has been an overriding problem, making them feel outsiders and out of the running for career progression. Very few women academic staff initially appointed on fixed-term contracts have stayed beyond their initial term. This contrasts with the experience of a number of men who succeeded in progressing their careers in spite of, or even because of, the temporary and insecure nature of their posts. Men who feel insecure are likely to redouble their efforts to gain promotion and assume they can count on the support of colleagues in this project, whilst insecurity often makes women feel powerless and excluded.

There are also inequalities inherent in an adult education programme that relies so heavily on part-time tutors. The success of the Department in surviving the cuts and policy changes of the 1980s and 1990s was largely based on the shift of full-time staff to becoming programme managers and researchers, and the increased proportion of teaching done by part-timers, a majority of whom are now women. Part-time tutors have no job security and every appointment is conditional on adequate student recruitment . By comparison, even part-time lecturers on fixed-term contracts feel privileged.

It has been hard to place gender issues on the public agenda of the Department in the last ten years. In the 1980s there was a legitimate concern that race inequality was as great an issue for the Department as gender. Whilst white women had improved their position significantly as staff of the Department, there were still no black academic or administrative staff. Moreover, black people continued to be under-represented as students. The women who were the most active in equal-opportunities work found it hard to attend to important gender issues whilst promoting their concern about race, the central focus of the equal opportunities committee set up in the mid 1980s. Gender inequality is also harder to pinpoint and to challenge in a Department whose culture and reputation is egalitarian by comparison with the institutional context in which it is located: 'When I think about the rest of the University I wonder how much comfort we should be drawing from the thought that we are better than them.' Moreover, gender inequality cannot be tackled effectively without addressing the inequalities of class and status which are so deeply embedded in the culture of the institution: 'Thinking about the University reminds me of "All things bright and beautiful", everyone in their proper place—the lecturer in his study, the secretary at her word-processor.'

Twenty years ago the Department was experienced by clerical staff as a very hierarchical and formal place. Being on first-name terms with senior staff was 'a privilege only accorded to academic and administrative staff'.

The struggle of women academic and academic-related staff to establish themselves as equals with their male colleagues has made working relations with other women staff difficult at times to negotiate. For clerical staff, assertiveness has as much to do with status as with gender. Clerical staff speak of a definite improvement in the attitude towards them in the last twenty years and attribute this partly to the increased use of information technology. This has given clerical staff an expertise which academic staff need and particularly male academic staff often lack.

We conclude that there is much to celebrate and much work still to be done. Women have made their mark in a way that was inconceivable to most of those associated with the Department only twenty years ago. We leave the reader to reflect on what might be achieved before the next occasion for celebration.

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References

Note: The unattributed quotations in the text are taken from our conversations with women who have worked in the Department.

1 See Chris Duke's contribution to this volume, Chapter 21.

2 'Women and Gender Issues', Working Party Report, Universities Association for Continuing Education, 1993, 6.

3 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies, *Annual Report*, 1979/80.

4 A complementary account of the research on which this section is based appears in *Adults Learning*, February 1995.

20

'Heroic Student-Souls': Attitudes to Women in the Department

Rebecca O'Rourke and Jean Gardiner

Introduction

Although women's education, understood as a progressive initiative to identify and meet women's specific educational needs, is of recent origin, adult education has always spoken about, if not always to, women. The more public forms in which women have been present in, and the degree of influence they have sought to exercise over, the making of the Department's history have varied. So too have the prevailing attitudes towards women—both as the subjects and agents of study. This chapter, which is divided into two sections, outlines some of the historical shifts and continuities in that discourse. We consider the way women students were perceived by their largely male tutors during the Department's first twenty years and then, using the Leeds Department as a case study, consider the impact of contemporary feminism upon adult education provision for women.

'In an old schoolroom with desks too small for the men'

Class reports from the first twenty years of the Department are useful sources of evidence about women's involvement as full or part-time tutors and about which subjects attracted women students and how they fared. A survey of tutorial class students carried out in the 1946-47 session also helps us to construct a profile of typical male and female students, and the areas of significant difference between them, at the Department's outset.

The survey included 1,200 students in 73 tutorial and 8 sessional classes, with just over half the questionnaires returned. Of the students 54 per cent were women, and their experience differed markedly from that of the men. Although 96 per cent of the men and 89 per cent of the women had attended public elementary schools, women were more likely than men to have had secondary and higher education. Of the students as a whole, 46 per cent had received secondary education and only 14 cent had experienced higher education. Just over half the women described their occupation as full-time domestic and a further quarter were clerical workers. Another significant minority were teachers.

Men and women emerge as different types of student—an impression confirmed by their different involvement in trade unionism and politics. Men are twice as likely as women to be members of trade unions and political organizations. They are also twice as likely to be married. However, the construction put upon these differences, both in the 1946/47 report and in class reports, does not do justice to the complexity of either gender inequality or of women's class belonging.

Access to post-compulsory education and training has remained a key factor in educational disadvantage. Against men's more restricted access to post-elementary education must be set the apprenticeship system which offered men, but not women, a route into relatively well paid, skilled manual employment. From the late 1950s, the development of educational opportunities through trade unions also benefited men far more than women. For women, mainstream education and non-manual occupations offered the only opportunities for self-development. The relatively high number of women with higher education must be seen in the context of the post-war drive, following the 1944 Education Act, to recruit more teachers: women were encouraged to see teaching as a natural extension of their domestic role.

Like most of their contemporaries, the men who carried out the 1946/47 survey were unaware of the relationship between gender and patterns of education and employment. For them, the findings were important in their own struggle to define, recruit and educate appropriate students for adult education. These were inevitably male, with little formal education, doing heavy manual work and preferably active trade unionists. Just about one-third of all students at the time came into this category, but that it acted as a reference point for all the work can be seen in the early class reports: 'Only one man and one woman did not belong to the category of the educationally underprivileged ... The rest of the members were not only exclusively working-class but exclusively male—apart from one heroic student-soul who was already wife, mother and breadwinner rolled into one.'[1]

During the 1939–45 war women began to influence the WEA programme of classes.[2] Their choices were seen to threaten the left-wing, labour movement orientation which the Yorkshire North District had struggled to retain against the more liberal and populist redefinitions of the WEA nationally. The commitment to social and industrial emancipation through class solidarity marginalized women's contribution to political and industrial struggle and rendered apolitical their somewhat different social concerns. One of the ways that tradition within the WEA shaped the emergence of the Department was in its attitude towards women. Women's differences carried an almost exclusively negative loading until the early 1960s, when they began to be seen as enriching rather than robbing adult education classes of their value. On the whole, on rare occasions where women were lauded—as the woman mentioned above is—it is because they had the qualities, or employment status, of men plus the ability to sustain domestic lives. Women needed to be exceptional to be acceptable, but not too exceptional: the most critical remarks were reserved for single, professional women:[3]

> The textile workers are prepared to undertake serious study … The remainder of the class … are prepared to take notes in class, complete an occasional questionnaire, and borrow an odd book from the book box. But for regular study of a text book and systematic written work, they 'have no time'. (This from two single grammar school mistresses).

Here, as in other reports, the way in which the tutor valued and perceived class differentiation (which may differ from how students perceived their own or each other's class belonging) was articulated against gender to produce a rather simplistic picture of lower-middle-class or professional women pitted against working-class men. Undoubtedly there were class tensions, just as there were frictions around gender. But the complexity of women's class belonging and class mobility[4] should ensure that we stop and look more closely at this apparently easy explanation. And within the documentation from the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, there is evidence that attitudes towards women varied between tutors. Pat Duffy, for example, is consistently even-handed towards women and appears encouraging towards them and their particular circumstances. So it comes as no surprise that women achieve higher completion rates on his economics courses than they do with other tutors, such as one who reports that economics 'proved too stern for the gentle sex'.[5]

While Duffy—unlike some of his contemporaries—has no problem in assigning class belonging to working-class women, there is still a pull towards heroic, male versions of that identity. Women appear more highly valued, for example, when they are wives or daughters of miners:[6]

> Close knit, homogeneous in background and working class in character, (the group) has the makings of a thoroughly worth while tutorial class. Six students are underground workers and eight are the wives of such workers. (Two of the wives are also school teachers). Two students are ex-miners and one is accompanied by his wife ... Finally there are two young women, one a canteen worker and the other a school teacher. All three teachers are daughters of miners.

This need to explain, or qualify, the achievements of women is often present. One tutor, who often gives the impression of enduring women students, does have the capacity to acknowledge their achievements, but qualifies it by noting that 'she was engaged in fewer outside activities than other class members'.[7]

What emerges through these reports is a strong sense that women students are perceived as a problem, not serious about their studies and consequently a great disappointment to their tutors. This emerges very clearly from literature classes which laboured under and against their feminization. This in turn links to the argument within Yorkshire North District WEA about the purpose of adult education, where the conflict between spiritual and political development was sometimes crudely mapped as economics versus literature. However, numerous examples can be found from reports across the range of provision: 'Knitting and a tea interval set the tone. If a tutorial class were to be attempted, fresh blood should be found from outside the class (and some men introduced!).'[8] 'Pleasant women but deliberately determined not to be uprooted from cosy parochial and family affairs into concern for public affairs.'[9]

It is interesting that behaviour attracted different interpretations according to whether it was performed by men or women. This has been exhaustively documented and analysed by feminists in areas as diverse as child development, criminology, socio-linguistics, psychology and sociology. In the class reports we find tutors differentiating between the way male and female students balance study time with other commitments, and a different emphasis from male and female tutors.

The remark referred to above—'for regular study of a text book and systematic written work, they “have no time”’—conveys the male tutor's disbelief that two single school mistresses were too busy to do their class work and perhaps the suspicion that they squandered time working men would savour. It contrasts with a female tutor who recognized the particular time pressures on women, whether single or married:[10]

> Our students, especially our women students, are far busier than they used to be. Once upon a time they may have worked longer hours, it is true, but there was a chance to dedicate some vacant hours to study. Nowadays the food, clothing and shopping limitations are constantly nagging both domestic and business women.

Sometimes, as here, female tutors were more sensitive to the pressures on women—and perhaps when they spoke about their students they also spoke about themselves, just as the men did. It is unlikely that male tutors queued for and cooked their own meals. But women tutors had also internalized the social expectation that domestic responsibilities were women's responsibilities. A woman tutor blamed a student's wife for his leaving the course: '[his] wife decided to go out to librarian work most evenings, leaving him with three lively boys to put to bed, and no chance to cope with reading or writing'.[11]

Public activities were viewed differently, with men's seen as more purposeful than women's and this was reflected in the choice of language: men's 'professional and voluntary work' as against women's 'good work':[12]

> The male members are particularly committed to professional or voluntary work—all the poor attenders were men, and in every case there was a valid reason ... Of the 11 who managed a ⅔ attendance, all were women. They are intelligent and interested women, active in all kinds of good work.

Generally, women whose leisure activities, such as holidays or hobbies, impinged on the class, were described in ways suggesting that women spent their time frivolously, whereas men's much greater access to leisure was rarely mentioned, except occasionally when drinking in clubs and pubs was described as an extension of the educational process: 'Sunday afternoons seem to be ideal for class meetings and the atmosphere of the Working Men's Club suitably "earthy" for certain aspects of historical study.'[13]

Finally, men and women students' participation in class discussion appears to have been differently tolerated and valued:[14]

> One student in particular ... refused to let me go on until he understood what

> I meant at each point. The result was that I was compelled to mean something at every point and my teaching improved considerably … One other student abused this conversational approach by talking a great deal of undisciplined nonsense. The class are helping me to deal with her.

From 'delicious confections' to women's education

Throughout the class reports women are discussed in infantilizing language, forever needing to be chastised or trying to tackle subjects too hard for them, which suggest there was a misogynist element in the culture of masculinity which characterized the early years of the Department. This culture of masculinity was informed and reinforced by employment practices discussed in Chapter 19. The virtual absence of women academic staff and the prevalence of patronizingly dismissive attitudes towards women students means that although women have always made up over fifty per cent of the student body, specific attention towards their educational needs emerges slowly and patchily. However, once women were identified as a distinct group within the student body with their own particular needs and interests these were rapidly politicized by late twentieth-century feminism.

During the 1960s attitudes changed from the founding view of women as a passive, somewhat begrudged, mainstay of certain types of provision to that which saw women as a distinct cohort of students with particular needs and interests. The first attitude can be seen in the following quote from 1955 when, following a sixth-form lecture, a staff tutor was given high tea prepared by the pupils: 'all kinds of delicious confections … [they] cannot only charm and talk; they can cook too. University extension can evidently rest content with this prospect of the "housewife-students" of the future.'[15] A decade on, a different construction was put on those students and their needs: '[The class] is composed mainly of women tied to home by domestic duties and family, and missing the stimulus of a full-time job.'[16]

This was followed by a more politicized engagement with women in the 1970s under the impetus of feminism. For many feminists adult education was a particularly appropriate place to be:

> in adult education experience is given importance, if not taking centre stage. For those of us from less privileged backgrounds, experience is a meaningful, not a problematic, concept. We had enormous space to experiment and try new ideas. Sometimes they worked and sometimes they didn't. Some of the most exciting research in women's studies came out of it.

The first women's studies course in Leeds appears to have been a WEA class that ran in 1975, shortly after Tom Steele was appointed as Leeds tutor-organizer. It involved a group of single parents in Seacroft and was taught by Lee Comer (whose *Wedlocked Women* had recently been published). Other courses followed on the Leeds WEA programme: Women and Technology, Women and Anthropology, Women and Literature. These were all one-term classes, women-only in practice, although not allowed to be advertised as such. There was strong opposition in the WEA District to women-only classes, although the Leeds WEA branch itself supported this development from the mid 1970s.

For the Department, women's studies work began in the mid 1970s at the Bradford Centre. It originated in a combination of work, politics and friendship networks characteristic of radical left activity at the time. At this time the Bradford Centre took a number of initiatives around community liaison and community education designed to bring in new student constituencies to develop a curriculum informed by ideas of community action and social purpose. It was, therefore, open to feminist ideas and ran a number of day and weekend schools on topics such as: The Family; What is Sexism?; Sex Equality and the Limits of Legislation.

These events attracted almost equal numbers of men and women, confirming that in the early to mid 1970s feminism was part of a general radical culture. But the men attending these workshops failed to perceive or address their own role in the oppression women were beginning to articulate: 'even though they espoused feminism—the feminist cause—they didn't integrate it into their attitudes and daily lives'.

When a group of women came together to explore ideas for follow-up courses, the only man present—a full time employee of the Department—assumed the role of chair and volunteered to take the ideas forward: 'one of the women pointed out this wasn't the best way to develop it. It had never occurred to me it would be an issue.'

An autonomous women's group formed which made proposals to the Department's Bradford Centre about the development of courses for women. There was a potentially difficult task in matching these proposals to appropriate and accountable forms of provision. This was ameliorated by the informal liaison role between the group, the Department and the University taken on by Janet Woolf, an active feminist and lecturer in the University's sociology department. Ideas were also fed in by the male full-timers who were in touch with developments elsewhere, such as New Opportunities for Women (NOW) developed at Newcastle by Eileen Aird and Freda Tallantyre. The Bradford Centre's desire to build links between adult education and radical movements beyond the traditional labour movement created a receptivity to feminist initiatives.

Meanwhile, the Department as a whole was struggling to maintain its tradition of three-year tutorial classes. This model was singularly inappropriate for the innovative and fluid nature of the women's studies curriculum and also for the various groups of women, in and out of jobs, to whom women's studies appealed. In 1977 the Department launched its first New Opportunities for Women (NOW) twenty-four-week course at the Bradford Centre. The programme was extended to Leeds in 1979 and Middlesbrough in 1981 and a few years later began to spread into other parts of West Yorkshire.

The consolidation of NOW work signalled a major shift in attitude towards women in adult education. It reached a new group of women returners who, for the most part, had not previously attended classes organized by the Department: 'NOW made a big difference to the kind of women students we get. When I first joined the Department it was either retired middle-class women doing art or bright young professionals topping up. They still come, of course, but NOW targeted and brought in women from a much wider social background.'

In creating such opportunities for women's education, especially with working-class women, NOW gave a new inflection to the class/gender conflict discernible throughout the history of the Department. Activist women's studies, with its explicit connections to feminism, ran the risk of being identified with middle-class women. Gender has traditionally been viewed as a secondary characteristic of class oppression rather than a form of oppression in its own right. The complexity of this issue is compounded by the association between feminism and higher education, especially as women's categorization as middle class rests, as Anne Phillips argues,[17] less on money than on education.

Feminists in the Department found themselves between a rock and a hard place as they tried to promote women's interests in adult education. Women's studies had to struggle for acceptance in mainstream academic life, including adult and continuing education. Although NOW was established relatively quickly, traditional liberal adult education was uneasy with women's studies. Although the growing importance of work with groups experiencing social and educational disadvantage seemed to offer opportunities for the development of women's education, its progress was initially hampered by a highly gendered view of working-class identity:

> The project was concerned with developing community-based provision for working-class people and I decided to focus on working with women. When I was asked in the early days to run NOW, some people were unhappy about my involvement in this, not seeing it as real community education. I don't think anyone had particularly expected the project to focus on working-class women.

The perseverance of the women involved in these early initiatives eventually established work with women in the community education projects that became such a feature of the Department's work. But this success carried the risk of being seen as the only way to work with women. There are tensions—for individual tutors and the curriculum—if women's education becomes exclusively aligned with a deficit model of women's experience:

> I don't want to be pushed into teaching women because I'm a woman. That would reinforce prejudices that women can only work with women. It doesn't bother me not having women in my classes. It's good for the men. A male tutor wouldn't bring up some of the issues I choose to bring up. It's good for them to be challenged.

In the 1980s women's education was at its strongest: a wide geographical spread of New Opportunities courses across Leeds, West Yorkshire and Cleveland, various community education initiatives focusing on unwaged women, including black and ethnic-minority women, feminist and gendered approaches to specific subject areas, such as psychology, computing and new technology, literature, sociology and history, and a specific women's studies programme. Much of this provision involved collaborative work with new educational partners. Its success, for example the 1983 Women and Computing course at Sweet Street, Leeds, where provision was first made with an organization other than the WEA, contributed to developing the adult continuing education curriculum generally. This type of work not only provided points of entry for working-class and ethnic-minority women but also ensured that when the mid 1980s initiatives about education and the unemployed focused and repoliticized the concept of community education, it did so with an extended concept of unemployment that took account of race and gender.

This should have signalled the consolidation of women's studies as a subject base within the Department and the exertion of feminist influences on the intellectual project of the Department as a whole. Instead, there was a period of retrenchment and decline. Three factors conspired in this. First there was the death in 1987 of Shirley Moreno, a committed and able feminist lecturer. The emotional and practical impact of this event weakened the already tenuous power base women held in the Department, with women, and women's studies initiatives, dispersed across the Department's region and sections. This reinforced their minority status and made it difficult to develop either strategic provision for women or feminist critiques of specific subject areas, continuing education policy or organizational practices.

The second factor dispersing feminist influence was the way cuts and crises in adult/continuing education were accompanied by departmental reorganization and its attendant power struggles. Women in the Department put their energies into work which consolidated and secured their positions at a more fundamental level, and this militated against developmental work. Thirdly, feminism itself was in crisis. From the late 1970s it became difficult—and is now impossible—to speak of a women's movement. The movement's attempt to deal with difference floundered into what became crisis after crisis as women confronted what divided, as well as what united, them.

NOW became the most enduring form of provision for women in the Department. The programme offered women many opportunities, ranging from self-development, social contact, intellectual stimulus, and increased self-esteem, to a route back to formal education, but was not without contradictions. In line with overall changes in adult continuing education, full-time staff were now more likely to develop rather than teach the courses, which were staffed by part-timers. A contradiction emerged which continues to operate, namely that 'part-time tutors are often in almost exactly the same position over child care as their students and it's deeply ironic that we teach and administer others' new opportunities when we ourselves are the victims of women's part-time labour patterns.'

The rest of the century

> I learned a great deal about feminism at Leeds and because of that I teach my subject very differently now from the way I did in 1980. It's definitely there as part of the theoretical perspective. I'd never worked in a department where there was a woman except me. You just get used to being one of the chaps. I didn't give a great deal of thought to whether women were marginalized at Leeds or not. If I had, I'd probably have concluded there were rather a lot and they were all rather strong, powerful women.

There is no simple way to evaluate the impact of feminism upon the work of the Department as a whole. For this woman, the impact was profound and positive whereas others have found the Department lagged behind their experience and expectations gained elsewhere. A crude count of the visibility of gender as a theme in syllabuses or women as authors of required reading, for example, suggests that awareness of feminist thinking is still far from commonplace. This is one aspect of the curriculum which the course review system, set up as part of Quality Assurance, has yet to tackle.

There have been tangible and progressive changes: the establishment of crèches, the commitment to and expertise in working with women returners, the development of work-based learning (which may render some of the practical problems women have had combining work with trade union activity/education and the home less overwhelming), the legitimacy in almost all subject areas of the principle of gendered and feminist approaches and the greater confidence of women in pursuing them. But there are also areas of ambivalence within women's education: 'there's a lot of guff talked and written about women's education. It was so romantic and so intellectually unchallenging and so fixed in women's current positions. Women's problems, as it were. Women's education became how you do it, the process, not the content.'

Perhaps the challenge for the next decade is to create the confidence amongst women staff and students in which some of these issues can be explored and developed, perhaps through an analytical interest in gender relations as opposed to an empirical and experiential concern solely with women:

> Gender and history, for example, would look at both femininity and masculinity, at both men and women, at how gender constructed paid work or the setting up of business enterprise or the layout of the home. The 'women and' approach

> was very exciting and celebratory but it's still easy to marginalize, whereas a gendered lens is more challenging and less easy to dismiss than just women.

The potential for work in this area is enormous—and enormously exciting. It questions the over-reliance on process which some of the more celebratory approaches to women's experience led to, and which made them very easy to dismiss. But the issue is a complex one. Strategically, gender studies may seem to offer a route out of marginality, but if that route is needed because it remains possible to dismiss things as 'just women', then it is even more important to contest the devaluing of women's experience. Gender studies must make a commitment to the material presence of women's experience in academic disciplines and their conceptual and theoretical frameworks.

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Part Three

Present and Future Trends

21

The Leeds Department in the 1960s and the 1990s: And the Impact of Current Trends in University Continuing Education

Chris Duke

Which Department? What University?

Giving me the last word in this celebratory volume bestows privilege and displays courage. I had best show some courtesy to my old University and Department in reflecting on what has and what has not changed in the thirty years since I joined, and what this might portend. My courage fails me as to future trends in these uncertain times and I settle rather for an interpretation of what present trends may suggest. Even these are uncertain enough (in 1993) to cause one to falter.

I must however pause, slightly less courteously, to ask 'which Department?' My invitation to contribute came from the Department of Adult Continuing Education but this is not the only successor to the Department of Adult Education and Extramural Studies which I joined in 1966, as Frankie Todd's chapter shows. There is also now a Department of Continuing Professional Education (CPE), and there have been tendencies as well to separate out Part-time Degrees. As may be gleaned from Stuart Marriott's contribution, that professor of Continuing Education is also not now in the Department of Adult Continuing Education, but has migrated to 'mainstream' educational research and training. Marriott, like both his predecessor and his successor, was appointed from within the Department, as it then was, to a chair and the headship of department in the new year of 1985. It was still then an essentially unitary adult and continuing education department, albeit of modest size, and still slimming, compared with the large empire, unitary yet heterodox within a sometimes notorious orthodoxy, which Sidney Raybould (SGR) founded and led so confidently, purposefully and at times, in my experience, ruthlessly, from the post-war period till soon after I left for Australia in 1969.

It was typical of SGR that my posting to sixteen good years in the Australian sun should be a mark of favour and esteem, rather than the deportation of a troublesome young Turk, which with Marriott, who also then left for the nearer land of Scotland, it could as well have been. Raybould thought on an ambitious, post-colonial and perhaps neo-colonial world scale. We might ask where the Department's and the University's vision have expanded, altered or contracted since then. Since space is limited and I have already called him at times ruthless, let me add that SGR, a true liberal, showed gritty consistency in his pragmatic purism. Thus, well knowing the character of our work, he fully supported Marriott and myself in our deeply subversive research venture which later surfaced as *Paper Awards in Liberal Adult Education*. Raybould went so far as to part-fund our visits to other extramural departments so that we could compare their approaches to extramural certification. This despite his inclination to keep his people away from the influence of less pure and traditional departments: 'here be dragons', as Bernard Jennings marked the map of Britain surrounding Leeds, and especially looking south down the line of the yet-to-be-completed M1 motorway beyond Yorkshire.

So if one question raised by this retrospect concerns the name, scope and task(s) of the Department(s), another concerns our accuracy and range of vision in the less sunny 1990s. There is a connection between these, and a connection with the University itself. It is in the gift of universities to make and to unmake departments, including the extramural empires about which Marriott wrote so insightfully in the early 1980s. Looking back to Leeds in the 1960s and forward beyond 2000, I cannot interpret for myself my experience of that membership, nor offer a prognosis, which ignores the main University, in its region, environment and political world.

The Leeds Department in the 1960s: principled pragmatist of the extramural world

For me, Raybould's Department was a set of puzzles and paradoxes. Coming from a London polytechnic I was used to a department staffroom-cum-study—a dedicated desk, but one of fifteen or twenty in the room. At Leeds the Department's home was suitably named after Albert Mansbridge (but ironically lost to a defector when parts of the empire started splitting off in the 1970s). I had no base there, coming in only for the Department library, my mail, and the occasional rather scary staff meeting. Later, I did teach probation officers there, and Marriott and I, in particular, found ourselves using the building also for some rather non-traditional teaching and study groups—senior psychological and psychoanalytic types on the edges of Norman Jepson's fascinating work with institutions, further-education types hesitantly recognized also to be in the adult education business, on Saturday courses which would later have been called INSET. But one's office and study were in one's home, partly perhaps on the assumption that one lived thus in and with the community one served.

In fact, early experience both confirmed and gave the lie to such a notion. Coming to Leeds at short notice I took lodgings, by innocent accident, in the heart of Chapeltown close to Cowper Street school. My most personally challenging and I suppose significant work at Leeds was with black students and their white activist supporters, either living in or focusing their community energies on that patch. Although I moved soon enough to a setting more befitting a young academic—a fringe area of Headingley outside the ghetto, teetering on respectability and within sound of the roar of the sporting crowd—my lodgings in Chapeltown immersed me in issues of racial inequality on my own street, and thus 'caused' the creation of the Chapeltown immigration class.

On the other hand, I taught each Monday night in far-flung Middlesbrough—defending our imperial Hadrian's wall against threat from extramural Durham. For three years I visited John Saunders's urbane suburban ghetto in that industrial city, sustaining the light of learning with a keen small group of mostly middle-class students, and only occasionally venturing at night into the grubby industrial and dockland twilight of the other Middlesbrough—and that only courtesy of boisterous Guyanese twins who somehow wandered into the class and stayed, then insisted on inducting me into their less pretty world. Bright-eyed enthusiast for the Great Tradition[1] and its heroes, I briefly glamourized my three-trains-each-way Middlesbrough journeys as if I too were an early hero setting out from Oxford for the Potteries. Faster four-wheeled reality intruded soon enough. The time away from Leeds for the Middlesbrough class was cut from twenty-two to six hours each trip. Marriott, who also taught there, and I instead set ourselves time-trials for the Middlesbrough run and I left Tawney *et al* behind for the hedonistic 1960s.

The Chapeltown class was more serious stuff, and a microcosm of the way things worked at Leeds. I became keen to try 'reaching' the new working class (or out- or under-class) in inner-city Leeds, rather than just argue how horny-handed past and present tutorial class students really were, how much written work they really did. Contact through Fred Sedgwick, the Yorkshire North WEA district secretary, with the black Rugby League player Cec Thompson, contacts and networks via the largely black Methodist church near my digs (where I was put in the front room downstairs to raise the tone of No 75), and later a close association with white activists, especially Maureen Baker, gradually made this possible. A full-blown three-year tutorial class was formed following this groundwork and a summer short course to test the idea more formally in Chapeltown, where the main class was also convened at 7.00 pm (Chapeltown Caribbean time) and adjourned to the Hayfield public house some time before it closed. The sacred Register was honoured, but more in the spirit than by the letter. (The register, and the data gathered from it in detail and included in departmental annual reports, showed numbers of 'effective' students attending two-thirds of sessions each year and so eligible, subject to completion of written work, to proceed to the next year. It was an important performance indicator, and a powerful means of publicly shaming the unpopular or otherwise unsuccessful tutor.) Sometimes a key to the door of the ironically named United Caribbean Association headquarters (No 1 Cowper Street) could not be located until long after the 7.10 pm cut-off required by the Regulations—sometimes because of ownership squabbles among Small-Island factions in the nominally united Association. We ran the class instead for a minimum of two hours from whenever we started, before adjourning, worked hard, and made several contributions to the life of blacks in Chapeltown through survey-based action research which took class members into housing in particular, but also to action over other kinds of racial discrimination.[2]

The interesting thing about this story is the way the Department handled it. As an extension man I could only work with the WEA and teach out in Chapeltown if I were 'leased' to the joint tutorial classes side of the operation. (I already taught a strong, almost women-only, daytime sociology class at Swarthmore and an extension certificate course on campus.) There was no way my putative students would then come the psychological million miles to campus (some subsequently have), so a deal was struck to transfer part of my time. The bureaucracy was not really too difficult. Yet without some slightly stroppy persistence (and the embarrassing risk of making a fuss, then failing over a patently high-risk venture) the Chapeltown class, undoubtedly my most innovative contribution in three years of teaching at Leeds, would never have happened. So there was the Department's principled pragmatism in play.

As to ruthlessness, a contemporary of mine, a young female psychology lecturer, was less lucky, or less stroppy. She never quite got a handle on the lonely extramural world. When her probation was up, she became an unmentioned 'disappeared'. It was a tough and gritty regime, as well as quite a time to be alive and ambitious.

There are of course other memories which capture the spirit of the last days of Raybould's years. What we now call continuing vocational or professional education (CVE or CPE), better theorized by Todd and others as continuing professional development (CPD)[3] was managed by Tom Gleave, former administrator of Empire, and, so rumour had it, he in turn was tightly managed and contained by SGR on a shortish rein. Much that happened 'up there' in the higher reaches of the Department and beyond was shadowy: rumoured close links with the Vice-Chancellor and others, and especially with William Walsh whom I met socially on my one occasion at SGR's house; the international grey-suited visitors who we learned were the Executive of the International Congress of University Adult Education. Among SGR's international brigade, Roby Kidd was reputedly held unreliable if not close to the devil himself, whereas Cy Houle, like SGR, was another scholar of grit and purpose. There were, at least for the likes of me, no formal links or even contacts with internal departments, although I met interesting professionals in applied social studies via Norman Jepson, and Peter Nokes who was at that time a powerful intellect and luminary.[4]

So much then for the culture of the Department in the 1960s. It was really a very separate mini-university, large, integrated yet latently fissiparous even in expansionary times, as the history of the tougher 1970s and 1980s has revealed. There were great opportunities to express one's academic initiative—autonomy or loneliness, depending how you felt. I much enjoyed innovative final-year teaching at Bretton Hall College of Education, an entirely private, yet officially blessed, venture. I wrote the first A-Level sociology distance education text (for the Associated Examining Board) and had it tested by one of my extension students, Frank Brown, who vindicated us both by getting an 'A' grade. I was at Grantley Hall on my first soul-searching, 'T-Group' (sensitivity training, courtesy of the University's management studies division) when the telephone went from Sydney Australia (not, as I had thought when the message came, from Sidney Raybould) foreshadowing my emigration.

Most of all I valued each Wednesday night in the Skyrack pub discussing with Stuart Marriott our teaching and our emergent research interests, enlivened by politically highly incorrect jokes from the Leeds and Bradford police on Marriott's criminology courses which chimed poorly with my youthful dedication to racial equality in Chapeltown. It was a good Department to be in if you could find kindred spirits, despite a sense of marginality both within and above. If, however, you took an interest in the history, politics and sociology of university adult education and the extramural tradition it was hard not to be proud; for Leeds was undoubtedly one of the great, maybe the greatest, as well as probably the most proud and high-principled (albeit highly pragmatic) of the extramural departments of the 1960s.

Leeds in the 1990s: the mainstream

Then and now? The Department has another energetic and ingenious leader, another principled pragmatist, in Dick Taylor, who like Jepson before him came up the home-grown way from being warden of the Bradford Centre, and so an academic administrator first and a teacher and scholar subsequently. Interesting that Leeds has never needed to look outside its own for adult education leadership, a habit which extended recently to the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, Alan Wilson, formerly the University's sole pro-vice-chancellor and a good friend of continuing education, who has shown consistency in that support and judgement since his elevation. This is just as well, since the mid 1990s is a period of greater uncertainty for institutionally identifiable continuing education than any since 1946.

Ironically, the source of greatest success, national acceptance in principle of mass and even lifelong higher education, is also the source of greatest threat. It would not all be loss. The total dismemberment of identifiable CE departments might logically be hailed as a triumph of Raybouldism and for the Great Tradition. It all depends how the cookie crumbles and who gets the crumbs. Total dismemberment may sound apocalyptically irrelevant to Leeds, which remains among the strongest—and the proudest—of CE departments and universities in the land. Yet Leeds has for years contributed to agonized discussion of crisis in university adult education[5] while remaining a bulwark of non-vocational adult education for the educationally disadvantaged.[6]

'Dismemberment' is certainly not fanciful apropos other universities, including two great civic universities of Leeds's generation and character. Even among what since April 1993 (when polytechnics became 'new universities') we came to call the 'old' universities (including those like my own 1960s stripling, Warwick) many are dividing or reaggregating their CE functions, 'downsizing' departments and units or dispersing functions to newly cost-centred structures. One might mention, for instance, Bristol, Hull, Keele, Liverpool, Manchester, Sussex as among the ex-Responsible Body universities recently much changed in this respect. There is, however, scarcely a single old RB department which has not changed significantly since the days when Noel Thompson at the Department of Education and Science led a 1980s challenge to what, looking back later, appears to have been the relatively quiet old world of liberal adult education. Things have been no less lively in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Behind the quietly abandoned term 'extramural', there clusters a cumulatively significant mass of incremental changes to the status, functions and programmes of CE departments.[7] Yet the ex-polytechnic universities claim to have mainstreamed continuing education into their regular teaching: adults are normal and so largely invisible.

The sleight of hand here has to do with the particular purposes, forms and styles of socially purposive liberal adult education to which Leeds's Department of Adult Continuing Education, for all the tactical weaving and ducking, staunchly adheres, and which on the whole the ex-polytechnics did not and do not provide. Several issues demand attention but space precludes more than a listing: the extent to which the Great Tradition was a myth; the debate between liberalism and socialism which after fifteen stunned years may be flickering into new life; the extent to which universities have a role and a mind of their own beyond the collectivist purposes of a centralizing yet uncaring state; and especially, whether the extramural tradition, wearing its new wardrobe from the lifelong-learning tailors—APEL, part-time degrees, access, CAT, modular award-bearing and other modern gear—can retain a historic sense of mission in what we are taught to call New Times.[8]

Leeds has customarily played a prominent role in what, in Raybould's day, was in the hands of the 'old boys', the Extramural Directors' Club (originally the Universities Council for Adult Education, then the Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education, and in the post-binary era, from June 1993, the Universities Association for Continuing Education or UACE). Past and present professor-directors have provided leadership and been generous with the University's time and other resources in their contributions. This does not mean an unthinking approbation of the liberal tradition; Marriott and I have been among the sterner sociological critics of what we have judged to be unfounded rhetoric and special pleading.

The Department, increasingly supported by the University of late, has however consistently argued the community outreach, compensatory and developmental roles of extramuralism, internationally as well as nationally and in-house. It has not ducked (nor of course has it solved) sensitive questions about class solidarity, and individual versus collective advancement. Now it has a, by some measures, larger, accessible people's university, Leeds Metropolitan, literally next door, hungry to serve the same local community. Other new universities inhabit other parts of the rapidly crumbling extramural empire. Leeds itself must live with the outcome of successive research assessment exercises (RAEs) and continuously redetermine how broad its mission can be, as a great civic university presumably wanting first division research status.

On the face of it, the University as well as its CE department adapted fast to the new world immediately before and then after the end of the binary system. Its Planning Statement to the Universities Funding Council for the (later abandoned) 1991–95 quadrennium was ambitious for a metropolitan and regional role as a local, accessible university. It looks set fair to remain 'Leeds's first people's University', bringing the people into the real university rather than keeping them at extramural arm's length. The 'paper awards' cruelly exposed in the early 1970s[9] are replaced by modular components of real degrees having whatever currency such awards enjoy in the present economy and society. On the other hand, it is no longer as bureaucratically tortuous to be allowed to try to reach the 'great unwashed' as I found it at Leeds and in Chapeltown in 1966.

Whether the Department of Adult Continuing Education will survive and flourish remains largely a matter for the University. Here the omens are good, though one cannot be sure how shallow cultural change yet is, how deep-rooted and easily regenerated resistance to the non-traditional may be.[10] It depends in part on the national funding regime. Here, the sky remains cloudy. Whether 'liberal' and 'professional' will reintegrate at Leeds may be a local and idiosyncratic matter of small importance, having more to do with mechanisms and individuals than with mission. Whether, like some others, the University will choose to mainstream politically and financially acceptable CE and starve the rest, is always a possibility; but the signs are not discouraging. Whether in that event the fact of an adult majority in regular programmes were thought adequate compensation might depend on the fine detail of new, more accessible degrees and their components, as well as on the eye and values of the beholder. For now, the Department of Adult Continuing Education remains one of Britain's great extramural and continuing education departments, true to its tradition of principled pragmatism.

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The Contributors

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Alan Aberg was educated at Cowbridge Grammar School and then at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, where he took a degree in Geography and Anthropology. He worked first as Archaeology Assistant at Ipswich Museums, and then moved to Southampton Museum in 1958 as City Archaeologist. In 1962 he joined the Department as lecturer in Archaeology, and was based mainly at the Adult Education Centre in Middlesbrough until he left in 1976. From 1976 to 1994 he was head of the National Archaeological Record within the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.

Mark Beeson

Mark Beeson was a lecturer in the Department from 1967 to 1989. He originally worked with Prison Service and Home Office courses, specializing in criminology. He was drawn ineluctably, willing but bewildered, through most by-ways of the Department. He was chairman (sic) of the Social Studies Scheme group.

Tom Caldwell

Tom Caldwell joined the Department in 1956 after six years as WEA tutor-organizer in North Yorkshire. He was Academic Adviser for Tutorial Classes from 1970 to 1973 and Head of the Liberal Studies Division from 1973 to 1983. His Leeds PhD (1962) was concerned with workers' education in France, 1890 to 1914. Since his retirement in 1984 he has lived in south-west France.

Rob Chapman

Rob Chapman gained a BSc and an MSc in Minerals Engineering from the University of Birmingham. He worked on the South African mines for four years before taking a PhD in hydrometallurgy at Leeds. He joined the Department in 1990 and was registered as a chartered engineer in 1992. He has developed a range of successful courses for adults in the applied sciences, drawing on his passion for brewing and gold prospecting.

Malcolm Chase

Malcolm Chase was based at Leeds University's Middlesbrough Centre for Adult Education from 1982 to 1994. He is currently a senior lecturer in the Department, and is responsible for the development of the new part-time degree, BA Continuing Studies. He has researched and published widely in nineteenth- and twentieth-century social and cultural history.

Andy Croft

Andy Croft teaches and organizes classes in literature and creative writing at Leeds University's Centre for Adult Education in Middlesbrough, where he is active in community writing and publishing. He has published a study of British novelists and the Popular Front, *Red Letter Days*. He is currently writing a critical biography of the poet Randall Swingler.

Tony Donajgrodzki

Tony Donajgrodzki joined the Department in 1969 as a lecturer and has taught most of the kinds of classes described in his article, from village local history courses to degree courses, in Leeds, Bradford, Middlesbrough and places in between. He is currently Director of Part-time Education at Leeds University.

Chris Duke

Chris Duke is Professor of Continuing Education in the University of Warwick, where he has also served as Pro-Vice-Chancellor. From 1966 to 1969 he was lecturer in the Department at Leeds, and from 1969 to 1985 he was Director of Continuing Education, Australian National University. From 1989 to 1994 he was Secretary of the Universities Association for Continuing Education. He has published widely on policy and comparative analysis in continuing education.

Roger Dyson

Roger Dyson was a lecturer in the Department from 1963 to 1974 and during 1971–74 was the first chairman of the Industrial Studies Unit. He was appointed Deputy Director and Senior Lecturer in Industrial Relations in the Department of Adult Education at Keele University in 1974 and became the Professor and Director in 1976 in succession to Roy Shaw. From 1979 to 1981 he was appointed part-time consultant adviser to the Secretary of State at the Department of Health and Social Services, and from

1982 to 1986 was chairman of North Staffordshire Health Authority. In 1989 he resigned his directorship of Adult Education and took an honorary post as Professor and Director of the Clinical Management Unit at Keele University. Since 1989 he has published widely on NHS affairs.

Keith Forrester

Keith Forrester is senior lecturer in Industrial Studies and co-ordinator of the Community and Industrial Studies (CIS) programme in the Department. He has been with the Department since 1981, and has published widely in the fields of industrial relations, labour education, and employment policies.

Roger Fieldhouse

Roger Fieldhouse spent six years as a tutor-organizer for the WEA in North Yorkshire and in 1970 joined the Department, where he remained for the next sixteen years. In 1986 he moved to Exeter University as Professor of Adult Education and Director of Continuing Education. In 1984 he obtained his PhD at Leeds for a thesis on 'The Ideology of English Responsible Body Adult Education 1925–50'. From 1964 to 1975 his research was in the field of local history; since the late 1970s his research has been in the history of adult education.

Jean Gardiner

Jean Gardiner has been a lecturer in the Department since 1975. Originally, she developed the Department's innovative programme of community education in Bradford and she is now responsible for the quality of teaching and learning and for staff development. Her research and teaching interests span continuing education, women's studies and labour economics.

David Goodway

David Goodway is lecturer in History, and has worked in the Department since 1969. He is the author of *London Chartism, 1838–1848*, and has edited *For Anarchism* (in the History Workshop Series) as well as two volumes of the anarchist writings of Herbert Read and Alex Comfort.

Norman Jepson

Norman Jepson is Emeritus Professor of Adult Education, University of Leeds. He was a member of the Department from 1948 to 1983, and Head of Department from 1969 to 1983. He lectured in criminology from 1950 to 1969 and was Academic Adviser to the Prison Service Staff College from 1963 to 1988. He has published widely in the history of adult education, prison education and Home Office research projects.

Colin Johnson

Colin Johnson has been at the University of Leeds since 1961 where he is now senior lecturer in the Department of Modern Slavonic Studies. He took his first extramural evening class in 1963. He has taught continuing education classes almost continuously for thirty years.

Tony Jowitt

Tony Jowitt is currently Acting Director of Continuing Education at the University of Bradford. Previously, he worked for the Leeds Department from 1973 to 1993, as Assistant Warden and then Warden of the Bradford Centre. He has published extensively in the fields of local and regional history.

Stuart Marriott

Stuart Marriott joined the Leeds Department in 1965, going on to pursue an interest in training adult educators, first at Edinburgh University (1969–72) and then at Leeds again. He has been chair of SCUTREA , and editor of educational journals and monograph series. In 1985 he was appointed Professor of Continuing Education at Leeds, where he has served as head of Department/School (1985–90), Dean of Faculty and Dean for Staff Development. His research and publications, now chiefly historical, are concerned with institutional dynamics of adult education, in England and Continental Europe.

Rebecca O'Rourke

Rebecca O'Rourke has worked as a tutor, researcher and organizer in adult education for many years and is currently lecturer in the Department and co-ordinator of the University's Centre for Adult Education in Middlesbrough. Much of her work has been in the area of women's return to study and women's studies.

Jennifer Price

Jennifer Price worked for the Inland Revenue, and read for the Bar in the evenings, before deciding that archaeology was more fun. She was a mature student at University College Cardiff and then Keeper of Archaeology at Salisbury Museum before moving to the Department in Leeds where, from 1980 to 1990, she was lecturer/senior lecturer in Archaeology. Since 1995, she has been Reader in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Durham. Her research interests include Roman archaeology and archaeological glass.

Roy Shaw

Roy Shaw was staff tutor in Philosophy in the Department from 1947 to 1962, and from 1959 was also the first Warden of the University's Bradford Centre for Adult Education. He moved to be Director and Professor of Adult Education at Keele University, and from 1975 to 1983 was Secretary General of the Arts Council of Great Britain. He was knighted in 1979.

Valerie Smith

Valerie Smith first became involved with the Department as a WEA student in extramural classes nearly thirty years ago. Still a WEA student, she has also served as WEA Branch Secretary and committee member; since 1976 she has taught literature for the Department, other colleges and the Open University.

Luke Spencer

Luke Spencer has been a full-time adult education lecturer since 1966 and a lecturer, subsequently senior lecturer, in the Department since 1969. He has written widely on British and American literature, especially the poetry of the post-war period. His book on the work of Leeds-born poet Tony Harrison was published in 1994.

Mike Stein

Mike Stein is currently Professor of Social Work in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York. From 1975 to 1995 he was lecturer, then senior lecturer, in the Department at Leeds with responsibilities for social work education, social science teaching in the continuing education programme, and the Child Care Research and Development Unit. He has published extensively in child welfare, including leaving care and child care policy.

Richard Taylor

Richard Taylor was administrative assistant in the Department from 1970 to 1973, when he became Warden of the Bradford Centre. In 1983 he returned to Leeds and was involved in establishing community education work. He was appointed Professor and Director of Adult Continuing Education in 1991. He is currently Secretary of the Universities Association for Continuing Education. His PhD and subsequent research were in politics and peace studies but he has concentrated increasingly upon the politics and policy development of university continuing education both in the UK and overseas.

Frankie Todd

Frankie Todd came to Leeds in 1989 as the Director of Continuing Professional Education and Head of the Department of Continuing Professional Education. A graduate of the University of Leeds, she had worked previously in the polytechnic sector and at the University of York. She has published extensively in the continuing professional education area.

Kevin Ward

Kevin Ward is Assistant Director (Academic) in the Department, which he joined in 1974. He has established teaching, research and development projects with many 'non-traditional' students and groups, and thus contributed to the University's high reputation for community adult education and innovatory provision. He is interested particularly in the theory and practice underpinning the notion of the 'University in the Community'.

Miriam Zukas

Miriam Zukas is a senior lecturer and has worked in the Department since 1980. Originally appointed as a lecturer in psychology with responsibility for the library, she is now the co-ordinator of the Research and Postgraduate Unit, and subject specialist for psychology and women's studies. From 1993 to 1996 she was chair of the SCUTREA, the Standing Committee on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults.

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